CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

COINAGE

The coinage dealt with in the last volume naturally divided itself into two categories, the indigenous and the foreign. The former was usually irregular in shape and weight, devoid of the king’s portrait, and artistically inferior. The latter, on the other hand, was regular in size, uniform in weight, usually embellished with the king’s portrait or figure, and artistically of a high order. This distinction between the indigenous and foreign coinages disappears in our period (c. A.D. 320-985). The foreign invaders of our period could hardly issue any coinage that could match with the indigenous one in artistic beauty, or denominational regularity. During the earlier centuries, the indigenous rulers were trying unsuccessfully to attain the standard set by the foreigners: during the present period, the case was exactly the reverse.

I. THE COINAGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Our period begins with the ascendancy of the Guptas in Northern India. The Gupta period is usually described as the golden age of ancient Indian history. Whether this observation is applicable to all aspects of Indian life or not, there is no doubt that it is true, both literally and metaphorically, as far as coinage is concerned. The Gupta coinage marks the golden age of the ancient Indian numismatics not merely because it was predominantly in gold. In the artistic merit of variety and originality, it has hardly any equal in the coinage of ancient India. The artistic merit of some of the Indo-Bactrian coins is no doubt higher; but, taken as a whole, that coinage lacks the striking variety in types and motifs which is characteristic of the Gupta coinage. The Indo-Bactrian coins usually show on the obverse the bust of the king; in rare cases we find the king shown as a horseman. On the Gupta coins, on the other hand, the king is shown in a variety of attitudes, and with a variety of attributes. He is sometimes holding a bow, sometimes carrying a standard, and sometimes wielding a battle-axe. He is often shown in a deadly grapple with a tiger, a lion or a rhinoceros. Sometimes he rides a
horse and sometimes an elephant. Now we see him playing on a lyre, now feeding a peacock, now offering a sacrifice. The art critic will thus see a pleasing variety in Gupta coinage, which he cannot but admire.

The numismatic art was remarkably creative in the Gupta Age. During the heyday of the Gupta Empire, no emperor was content with a single coin-type. Samudra-gupta and Chandra-gupta II each issued a number of coin-types; their number was greatly increased in the reign of Kumāra-gupta I. In each type the mint-masters took considerable pains to avoid monotony. Thus, in the Archer type of Chandra-gupta II, we find almost a bewildering variety. Sometimes the bow is held at the top, sometimes at the middle, sometimes with the bow-string inwards, and sometimes with the bow string outwards. Sometimes the bow is in the right and sometimes in the left hand. The name of the king Chandra is written sometimes under the arm, sometimes between the bow and the bow-string, and sometimes outside the bow-string.

The art of the Gupta coinage is not only of high order, it is also thoroughly Indian. In the beginning, owing to the conservatism so characteristic of Indian coinage, we find the Gupta emperors imitating the coin type popularised by the later Kushānas in the Central Panjab. Gupta mint-masters, however, were out to Indianise this foreign type. The standard was replaced by the bow, Ardoksho was converted into Lakshmi, and king was given Indian dress and jewellery. Scores of new types were introduced, thoroughly national in sentiment, and highly admirable in artistic merit.

It is interesting to note that the literary renaissance of the Gupta period is reflected in its coinage. For the first, and alas also for the last time, in Indian numismatics, coin legends become metrical and their poetical merit was also fairly high. It is not improbable that some of the metrical legends on the Gupta coins were composed by the Gupta emperors themselves, some of whom were probably good literary critics and authors.

The gold coins of the Imperial Guptas were struck initially, under the influence of the Kushāna gold coinage, on a weight standard of

1 V. A. Smith's view that Gupta coinage shows considerable Roman influence is untenable. The view that the Garuda standard on the Gupta coins is borrowed from the Roman aurei can hardly appeal to those who know that Guptas were Vaishnava, and, therefore, revered Vishnu and is mount Garuḍ. The Bstnagar pillar shows that Garudadhvaja was common in India at least a century before it was introduced on the Roman coins. The peacock motif, which appears so prominently on several coins of Kumara-gupta I, is obviously due to his desire to pay numismatic homage to Kārtikeya or Kumāra after whom he was named and whose mount was peacock. It can hardly be due to the desire to imitate a rare coin of princess Julia Augusta, who lived three centuries earlier. For Smith's view, see JRAS, 1898, pp. 22-5.
about 120-121 grains. There are indications that the weight of gold coinage was gradually increased until it reached the traditional weight of Indian gold coin (suvarna) of 80 ratis or about 144 grains. This heavy weight standard was introduced in the reign of Skandagupta. The silver coins of the Guptas followed the weight standard of Kshatrapa silver currency of about 30-33 grains. It is, however, difficult to detect any denomination scheme in the recorded weights of Gupta copper coins.

The Gupta gold coins were called dinara and also suvarna. The silver pieces were known by the name rupaka. Sixteen of such silver coins were equal in value to a gold dinara at least in the Puṇḍravar-dhanabhukti area in the period of Kumāragupta I. The coins were supplemented by cowries in commercial transactions at least in parts of the empire. Fa-hien, who visited Madhyadeśa (in the Gupta empire) probably during the reign of Chandra-gupta II, noticed that "in buying and selling commodities they use cowries."

2. CHANDRA-GUPTA I

The first two rulers of the Gupta dynasty, Gupta and Chhot-kacha, were mere feudatories and issued no coinage. It was started by Chandra-gupta I, probably at the time of his formal coronation, when he assumed the imperial title Mahārājādhirāja. Chandra-gupta I probably owed his imperial position in no small measure to the valuable help he had received from the famous Lichchhavi clan, besides the princess he had married. Probably the Gupta dominion was something like a dual kingdom in the reign of Chandra-gupta I and his condition is reflected in his coinage. It was confined to a single type showing on the obverse king Chandra-gupta and his crowned queen Kumāradevī, the former apparently offering the marriage ring to the latter. The names of both the royal consorts are expressly given on the obverse. The reverse shows Durgā seated on a lion and bears the legend Lichchhavayāh.

According to J. Allan, this coin-type does not represent the coinage of Chandra-gupta I, but is due to the desire of Samudra-gupta to commemorate the marriage of his parents.² Supposing that Samudra-gupta issued these pieces as commemorative medals, one would expect him to put his own name somewhere, either on the obverse or on the reverse. We should not forget that a commemorator is as anxious to disclose his own identity to commemorate the persons he reveres. Eu克拉底斯 I, Agathocles and others who issued commemorative pieces, all of them took care to inscribe their own names

² For Allan's view, see CGD, Introduction, pp. lxv-lxviii, for its refutation, see A. S. Altekar, Coinage of the Gupta Empire, p. 23 f.
on them. The Āsvamedha type coins of Samudra-gupta were commemorative pieces, which disclose his identity by the legend āsvamedhparākramah. Chandra-gupta's coinage is confined to the above type, partly because it was started towards the end of his reign, and partly because the political situation rendered the adoption of a different type inadvisable.

3. SAMUDRA-GUPTA

Chandra-gupta's son and successor Samudra-Gupta had a long reign of about fifty years and issued coins in six different types. Of these the Standard type, which was the most common one, was a close copy of the late Kushāna coin-type current in the Central Punjab at the beginning of the fourth century. The Gupta king appears in Kushāna overcoat and trousers; he is represented as holding a standard in his left hand, and offering, with the right hand, incense on an altar as on the Kushāna prototype. Effort, however, is made to Indianise the type by giving Samudra-gupta a national head-dress. On the reverse also, though the goddess recalls the throned Ardoksho of the prototype, her name is omitted and the biruda of the issuer, parākrama, is inserted in its place.

Further indianisation of the motifs can be seen in the other types of Samudra-gupta. The king, as his own standard-bearer, was foreign to Indian tradition; so the standard in his left hand was replaced by the bow or the battle-axe, giving rise to the Archer and the Battle-axe types. In the former type, which continued to be issued by almost all the emperors of the dynasty, the king holds the bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right, the Garuḍadhvaja being usually behind it. The reverse shows the throned goddess with the inscription apratirathah. In the latter type we find in front of the king, who holds the battle-axe in his left hand, an attendant who has apparently come to report the latest situation in the battle which the king is directing from a point of vantage. The reverse of this type has the usual throned goddess, and describes the emperor as Kṛitāntaparāśu, an epithet not used for any other Gupta emperor. It is interesting to note that this Battle-axe type also was not subsequently copied by any successor of Samudra-gupta. The three types, so far discussed, refer to the military aspect of Samudra-gupta's personality and achievements; and their metrical legends announce in appropriate language the valour and victories of the great emperor.

Two of the other types issued by Samudra-gupta proclaim his hobbies. The emperor was a great sportsman, and his Tiger-slayer type shows him shooting the tiger by his bow almost from a point-blank distance. The dress of the king on this type is Indian, and so also his jewellery. Coins of this type are rare. The Allahabad inscription claims
that Samudra-gupta was a great musician; it is but natural that he should have issued the Lyrist type, in which we find the emperor playing on a lyre or a lute; he is seated on a couch, probably on the terrace of his palace in a summer evening; for he is very scantily dressed. Coins of the Aśvamedha type, issued by Samudra-gupta, are very beautiful from the artistic point. The obverse shows the sacrificial horse in front of a yūpa (sacrificial post), the representation of which fairly tallies with that given in the sacred texts. It is bent at the end pennons fly from it over the horse, which looks noble and graceful, and almost resigned to its impending doom. On the reverse is the crowned queen standing with a chauri over her shoulder, ready to wait upon the sacrificial horse, as required by the sacred texts. The circular legends on the obverse proclaims that the emperor, who has conquered the earth, now wins the heaven as well by celebrating the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

We have seen already how on the reverse of the Standard type coins the goddess Ardoksho appeared without her name in the accompanying legend. The same reverse continued on the Archer type. Effort was made to Indianise her by supplying her with a lotus footstool in the Battle-axe type. In the Lyrist type she was shown seated on a wicker stool.

Samudra-gupta's coins are known so far in gold only. R. D. Banerji has referred to two copper coins of this emperor with Garuḍa in the upper half and his name in the lower half, the reverse being blank. These coins, however, have not been published, nor are their present whereabouts known.

4. KĀCHA AND RĀMA-GUPTA

The identity of Kācha, who issued coins closely resembling those of the Standard type of Samudra-gupta, is still a matter of controversy. The obverse shows the king standing to left and offering sacrifice on an altar. There is no Garuda-hoja in his front; instead, he holds a chakradhooja in his right hand. The reverse has a goddess standing to right, with the legend sarvarṣijochchhettā, which is a title given to Samudra-gupta in the official Gupta records of later times. The obverse legend Kācho gāṁ—avaiitya devanā kharmabhīr—utta-mair—jayati is an obvious adaptation of Samudra-gupta's legend on the Archer type, apratiratho viṣṇya kṣhitīṁ suchārītaṁ—devaṁ jayati.

3 It is rājādhvārajā prthi vaci viṣṭyā dvarāṁ jayaty-vāyita-vājamah. The reverse legend is aśvamedhāpanākramah.
4 AIG, p. 214.
4a The legend on a copper piece, published in JINS, Vol. XXXIV, 1972, (p. 224) and attributed to Samudra-gupta, cannot be read with confidence (ibid., pl. X, no. 5).
It has, therefore, been argued by Allan that Kācha is identical with Samudra-gupta.  

The arguments adduced above are by no means convincing. Sarva-rājochchhettā figures as a special title of Samudra-gupta only in later official records, and not in any of his own. The close similarity in the legend of Kācha with that of the Archer type of Samudra-gupta need not prove identity. For, we have a similar close resemblance in wording between the legend on the coins of Kācha on the one hand and that of the swordsman type on Kumāra-gupta I on the other, where we have gam = avajitya sucharitaiḥ, Kumāragupta divaṁ jayati. Can we then argue that Kācha is identical also with Kumāra-gupta I?

It is true that Chandra-gupta II had also another name Deva-gupta. It is, therefore, possible to argue that Samudra-gupta also may have had another name Kācha-gupta, and so the difference in name need not point to a difference in personality. Even supposing that such was the case, we cannot explain why Kācha, the familiar or alternative name of Samudra-gupta, should be confined to his Chakradhvaja type only, and why it should not appear even once on any of his remaining six types. It is interesting to note that Chandra-gupta II did not permit his familiar name Deva-gupta to appear on his coinage. Chakradhvaja is peculiar to the coinage of Kācha: it occurs on the coinage of no other Gupta emperor. This circumstance also suggests, though it does not prove, that Kācha was a personage distinct from other Gupta emperors represented in the coinage.

It, therefore, appears most probable to us that Kācha was different from Samudra-gupta. This inference, however, does not solve the problems of establishing the identity of Kācha and his relationship with the Imperial Guptas.

Similarly, we cannot be sure about the identification of Rāma-gupta of some copper coins from Malwa with Rāma-gupta who, according to literary tradition, was an elder brother of Chandra-gupta. Rāma-gupta was deposed by his younger brother Chandra-gupta (II) after a short and inglorious reign. Copper coins of Rāma-gupta consist of the Lion (lion: crescent), Garuḍa (Garuḍa: crescent), Garuḍa-standard (Garuḍa-standard: Garuḍa) and Double Garuḍa (Garuḍa: Garuḍa with outstretched wings) types.  

6 Some copper coins and three inscriptions referring to a ruler named Rāmagupta have been found in the Vidiśā district area of the Malwa region of M.P. (A.S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 162; K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies* p. 199 f: *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XVIII, p. 247). Palaeographic features of the coin legends and of the epigraphs suggest that the king belonged to about the fourth century A.D.
5. CHANDRA-GUPTA II

(i) Gold Coins

We now proceed to consider the coinage of Chandra-Gupta II. He had a long reign like his father, and issued gold coins in eight different types. His Standard type closely follows the devices of his father's Standard type. Like his father he also minted Archer type coins. He, however, transformed the goddess on the reverse into Lakshmi by providing her with a lotus seat on most of his coins. The obverse legend is devaśri-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandra-Guptah and the reverse is śrivikramah. The Lion-slayer type of Chandra-gupta was suggested by the Tiger-slayer type of his father. The coins of this type are among the best specimens of the ancient Indian numismatic art. They show pleasing varieties. The lion is sometimes to right, and sometimes to left; it is sometimes leaping at the king, and sometimes retreating away from him; sometimes it is standing at bay, sometimes collapsing; sometimes the king is triumphantly trampling upon it. The reverse of this type shows the goddess seated on a lion. In some cases the lion is walking and the goddess is sitting astride. In one case we find her audaciously dangling her feet over the head of the walking lion. The obverse legend is narendrachandrah prathitarano rane ājatavy = ajeyo bhuvī siṁhavikramah, and the reverse legend is simply siṁha-vikramah.

The Couch type of Chandra-gupta II was probably suggested by the Lyrist type of his father. The king is seated on a couch with a flower in one hand, apparently witnessing a drama. The reverse has the throned goddess with the legend śrī-vikramah. The King-and-the-Queen-on-the-Couch type is a further modification of the above type, showing the king offering an (uncertain) object to his consort seated by his side on the couch.6a - The other side shows the king standing and offering sacrifice at the altar.

The Chakravikrama type became known for the first time with the discovery of the Bayana hoard in 1947. The obverse bears no legend, but shows two-handed Vishnu holding a mace (gadā) in one hand and offering some object to the king standing before him. The reverse shows Lakshmi standing with lotus in one hand, the conch being in her front. The reverse legend Chakravikramaḥ enables us to identify the issuer with Chandra-gupta II.

The Chhattrra and the Horseman types are the remaining two types of the emperor that we have to consider. Both of them are

6a P. L. Gupta and S. Srivastava are inclined to identify the male and female figures in question as Nārāyana and Lakshmi (Gupta Gold Coins in Bhārat Kala Bhawani, pp. 46-47).
known from numerous specimens. The Chhattra type, which was probably intended to emphasise the imperial position of the issuer, shows the Emperor with an attendant by his side holding the imperial umbrella (chhattra) over his head. There are two obverse legends, mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ and Kṣitiṁ = avijñāya sūcharītār = dīvaṁ jaye ti Vikramādityaḥ. The reverse shows Lakshmi standing, facing, on a lotus, and the legend Vikramādityaḥ. On the obverse of the Horseman type, the king is shown riding a horse, the legend being paramabhaṭagavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ. The reverse shows the goddess seated to left on a wicker stool, the legend being ajītavikramaḥ.

(ii) Silver Coins

The annexation of the Saka kingdom of Gujarat and Kathiawar rendered it necessary for Chandra-gupta to issue silver currency for the use of his new subjects, who were accustomed to the coinage in the white metal.7 Probably this step was taken late in the reign, since we get very few specimens of the silver coins of this emperor. As may be expected, they are a close copy of the Kshatrapa prototype. The obverse shows the typical Kshatrapa bust with long hair and moustaches, and prominent nose. Traces of the meaningless Greek legend are allowed to continue, and some coins give the date of issue as the year 90 (plus a unit figure which is lost) obviously of the Gupta Era. The reverse shows some change, the three-arched hill being replaced by Garuda, the insignia of the conquering house. The reverse legend does not follow the Kshatrapa model in giving the name of the issuer and his father. In some cases it proclaims the family and personal name of the conqueror, in others it refers to his Vaishnava persuasion. The metrology of the Gupta silver coinage is the same as that of the Kshatrapa coinage; most of the coins are about 5" in diameter and 30 grains in weight.

(iii) Copper Coins

The copper coins of Chandra-gupta II can be divided into nine types, the Bust (bust: Garudā) and the Chhatra (standing king: Garudā) types being the most common. The Archer type (standing king, holding bow and arrow: Lakshmi), the Standing king type (standing king: Garudā), the Vase type (crescent: vase), the Chakra type

7 These coins are usually found only in Western India and rarely in the home provinces of the Gupta Empire. A few silver pieces bearing the devices and legends as on the gold coins of Chandra-gupta I have come to our notice (for example, see JNSI, Vol. XXXVII, pl. XII, no. 2). But the genuineness of these pieces has not yet been proved. So Chandra-gupta II should continue to be considered as the first of the Imperial Guptas to strike silver coins.
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(wheel: Garuḍa), the Crowned Head type (crowned head: Garuḍa), the Lakṣmi type (crowned head: Lakṣmi), and the crescent type (crescent: Garuḍa) constitute the remaining ones.\(^7\) The reverse of the coins of all these types (excepting Archer, Vase and Lakṣmi) usually shows the field divided in two parts, the upper one showing Garuḍa and the lower one giving the legend. The Archer type has seated Lakṣmi on the reverse. The coins of the Vase type display a vase on one side and the name Chandra surmounted by a crescent on the other. The Lakṣmi type displays a crowned head on one side and the standing figure of Lakṣmi on the other.\(^7\)

It is interesting to point out that some of the copper coins of Chandra-gupta II were found at Panipat and some in the Jhelum district. Copper coins do not usually travel a long distance, and the find-spots of the above coins would suggest that portions of the Panjab were under the sway of the Guptas.

(iv) Lead Coinage

Chandra-gupta II minted rectangular lead coins probably after conquering the territory of the Western Kshatrapas. The obverse displays Garuḍa with outstretched wings and the reverse carries the legend Śrī vikrama (6\(^7\)).

6. KUMĀRA-GUPTA I

(i) Gold Coins

The numismatic activity of the reign of Kumāra-gupta I was even more intense and varied than that of the preceding one. The number of the gold types issued by Chandra-gupta II was eight, while that of Kumāra-gupta was fourteen. The silver coinage was introduced in the new reign in the U.P. and Bihar, where it was so far practically unknown, and new types were introduced in it.

The Archer, the Horseman, the Lion-slayer, and the Chattra types of his father were continued by Kumāra-Gupta I. The Archer type shows different varieties, the one in which the king holds the middle portion of the bow being the most common. The Horseman is the most common type of Kumāra-gupta; 308 out of 623 coins of the ruler in the Bayana hoard belonged to this type. The obverse shows the king riding the horse to right or left, and holding sometimes the bow,

\(^7\) A. S. Altakar, op. cit., p. 156 f.; K. D. Bajpai, Indian Numismatic Studies, pp. 142-144. K. D. Bajpai wants to attribute to Chandra-gupta II a copper piece bearing an ornamental tree (Kalpaṇīkha?) on one side and the legend śaṭa-bhaga-vastū padmanābha on the other (ibid., p. 150; but see also JNSI, 1972, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 253 f.).

sometimes the sword, and sometimes both in his hands. On the reverse a goddess is seated on the wicker stool facing left; in one variety she holds a fillet in the right hand, and in the other she is shown as feeding peacock. Some of the coins of this variety, where the peacock is shown as extending its neck to reach the bunch of grapes, or as dancing at the sight of the fruits, are very artistic. The obverse legends on some varieties of this type, e.g. Guptakul=ašma-lachandraḥ mahendra-karmājito jayati or Guptakula-vyomaśaśi jayaṭy=aṣeyo' jitamahendraḥ, are of high poetic merit also. The coins of the Lion-slayer type of Kumāra-gupta are fairly numerous, and they continue most of the old varieties. The Chhatra type is very scarce, and it was not known till the discovery of the Bayana hoard which contained only two specimens of this variety. The obverse is of the usual type, but the king is shown holding a sword by the hilt; the reverse shows a goddess walking to left.

Kumāra-gupta revived the Tiger-slayer, the Aśvamedha and the Lyrest types of his grandfather. The coins of the Tiger-slayer type are artistically beautiful; on their reverse there is a standing goddess feeding peacock. The coins of the Aśvamedha and the Lyrist types are scarce. On some of the Aśvamedha type coins the horse is caparisoned, on others it is bare; in some cases it faces right, in others, left.

In the devices of the King and Queen-type of Kumāra-gupta, we may notice the revival of the King and Queen type of his great grandfather Chandra-gupta I. The coins concerned display standing king and queen on the obverse and a goddess on lion on the reverse.

Kumāra-gupta introduced several new and interesting types. He was named after Kumāra or Karttikeya, the generalissimo of the gods. He was naturally anxious to pay him numismatic homage, and the result was the introduction of a new type. On the obverse of this type the king is seen standing and feeding a peacock, the mount of Karttikeya; on the reverse there is Karttikeya himself riding the peacock. The coins of this type, however, are not so numerous as one may expect.

Kumāra-gupta introduced a number of new types referring to his military and sporting activities. In Swordsman type, we find the king standing and offering sacrifice by the right hand, while grasping a sword by the hilt by the left. The reverse shows Lakshmi seated on lotus. The Elephant-rider type shows the king riding an elephant, controlling its movement himself by a goad, while an attendant behind is holding the state umbrella over him. Apparently the king is going out for hunting.

The Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer type was an obvious improvement of the earlier type. Coins of this type are artistically very
beautiful. The elephant is shown as furiously advancing against
the lion and trying to trample it under its left foreleg (or rather try-
ing to grapple the king of the beasts by its trunk?). The lion is
shown as anticipating the movement and trying to spring against it.
The reverse shows Lakshmi facing, standing, on lotus.

The Rhinoceros-slayer is another new type introduced by Kumāra-
gupta. It is scarce and was not known till the discovery of the
Bayana hoard. Artistically it is of high merit. The king is hunting
the animal from a horse, which is shown as slightly frightened. He
bends forward to hit the animal, which is shown standing at bay,
turning back its neck to attack the hunter. The reverse of this type
shows a standing goddess (Gaṅgā) with a female umbrella-bearer
behind her.

The so-called Apratigha type of Kumāra-gupta is still a mystery.
It was known from a single specimen till a few more were discover-
ed in the Bayana hoard. On the obverse of this type there is a male
figure in the centre, with two female figures on his two sides. The
central figure is expressly labelled as Kumāra-gupta; but he is wear-
ing a long loose robe like that of a monk; his hands are folded in
front, and hair on the head is tied in a knot. The female figure on
the right faces the central figure, her left hand resting on the hip
and the right hand raised up as if in argumentation. The female
figure on the left also faces the central figure and holds up the right
hand precisely like the figure on the right. There seems to be a
shield covering the left arm of this lady. There is a Garuda standard
behind the central figure. The reverse shows Lakshmi seated on
lotus with a legend on the right which was once read as śrī-pratī
mah. But it appears to be apratīgha.

(ii) Silver Coins

Kumāra-gupta continued the silver type introduced by his father
in his western dominions which, as noted above, was a close copy of
the Kshatrapa prototype, showing the Kshatrapa bust and even the
traces of Greek legend. He, however, introduced a new type for
the home provinces of his Empire, which may be conveniently de-
scribed as the Madhvadesa type. In this type the bust on the obverse
shows quite different features; apparently it is an attempt at por-
traiture. The meaningless traces of the Greek legend are dispensed
with, and the date is engraved in front of the king’s face and not
behind the head as in the Western variety. The reverse device of
Garuda is replaced by a fan-tailed peacock and the circular legend
is vihitāvanin-avaniṇicate Kumāragupto divani jagati. This legend
was continued for about two hundred years by a number of rulers
and dynasties, with only a change in the proper name.
The Trident type of Kumāra-gupta is known from a single specimen; it shows trident on the reverse instead of Garuda or fan-tailed peacock.

The dire distress of the Gupta Empire towards the end of the reign of Kumāra-gupta perhaps induced the mint authorities to issue silverplated coinage to tide over the financial stringency. Copper coins were dipped in melted silver and passed off as silver pieces. They bear the same types and legends as the silver pieces; but their real nature was betrayed in course of time when the silver coating came off partially or entirely. (See also the appendix on Numismatic Art, f.n. 67).

(iii) Copper Coins

We know of several classes of copper coins of Kumāra-gupta. On the obverse of one class of coins the king is standing and throwing incense. The reverse is divided into two halves, the upper one showing Garuda, and the lower one giving the king’s name. The obverse of another class of coins shows an altar above, and the legend Śrī Ku below. The reverse of these pieces display a crude representation of Lakshmi. We can notice the standing figure of the king with an umbrella bearer on the obverse and Garuda on the reverse of a class of coins. Another class of specie has the same reverse device and an obverse device showing the king as an archer. Besides these Standing King, Altar, Chhatra, and Archer types, coins of the King’s Head type (head: Garuda). Vase type (crescent and vase: Garuda), and Peacock type (crowned head: peacock) have been noticed. 8a

(iv) Lead Coins

Like his father, Kumāra-gupta also minted lead coins. These are round, rectangular and square in shape. The obverse displays Garuda with outstretched wings and reverse the name of the king and sometime the year (of issue). 9

7. SKANDA-GUPTA

The set-back in the fortunes of the Guptas towards the close of the reign of Kumāra-gupta I is reflected in the subsequent coinage. The variety in type that characterised the issues of the earlier emperors now comes to an end. Skanda-gupta issued coins in three or four types only, while his successors were content with a single type. The coins of most of the later emperors were adulterated.

9 Numismatic Digest. Vol V, pt I, pp. 24-25. According to a theory, the metal of some Gupta coins may be classed as brass (an alloy of copper and zinc).
(i) Gold Coins

The Archer type is the most common of Skanda-gupta’s gold coins. It shows no varieties, unlike the Archer types issued in the earlier reigns. Some coins of the Archer type were issued following the standard of 132 grains prevailing in the earlier reign; others were intended to conform to the traditional suvarṇa standard of 144 grains.

The king and the Lakshmi type was the only numismatic novelty introduced by Skanda-gupta. On the obverse of this type we find the king standing in front of Lakshmi and looking with intense interest at some object which she is offering to him. It has been rightly conjectured that this numismatic type gives a graphic representation of the poetic idea, contained in the Junagadh inscription, of the goddess Lakshmi choosing Skanda-gupta as her lord in preference to other princes.

The Bayana hoard contains a solitary coin of the Chhattra type with the reverse legend Kramādityaḥ. The obverse legend on this coin is not well preserved, but since Kramāditya was a biruda of Skanda-gupta, we may attribute this coin to him. The solitary coin of Horseman type with an indistinct reverse legend which seems to read Kramādīt (yah) may have been also an issue of Skanda-gupta.

(ii) Silver Coins

Skanda-gupta was the last Gupta emperor to issue silver coins in the Western types. In Gujarat and Kathiawar, he continued the old types of his predecessors, but also introduced two new types, one showing a bull, and the other an altar on the reverse. The coins of the former type are the most common. In the home provinces of the empire, Skanda-gupta continued the issue of the fan-tailed peacock type introduced by his father. The coins of this type give the dates of the issue also.

(iii) Lead Coins

Lead coins of Skanda-gupta are either square or rectangular in shape. On the obverse appears Garuḍa with outstretched wings. On the reverse we can notice the legend śrī-Kumāraguptasya and sometimes also the year (of issue).

Unlike his grandfather and father, Skanda-gupta is not known to have struck copper.

8. Successors of Skanda-gupta

Skanda-gupta had two brothers, Ghatotkacha-gupta and Pāru-

10 Ghatotkacha-gupta, a brother of Skanda-gupta, apparently bore this biruda, hence the attribution of these two types cannot be regarded as certain.

gupta. The former was the Governor of Malwa in A.D. 435 during his father's rule; the solitary archer type in the Leningrad museum, having the letters Ghato under the arms, seems to have been issued by this prince, probably late in his life, when the central government had grown weak owing to internal dissensions.

The coinage of the second brother of Skanda-gupta Pūru-gupta, was for a long time believed to be represented by heavy weight Archer type coins, having the biruda Vikrama on the reverse. Most of the coins of this type have no name on the obverse; but on one of them the legend under the arms was taken to be Pura. New coins, since discovered, have, however, conclusively shown that the legend under the arm on these coins is Budha and not Pura. We have, therefore, to conclude that no coins of this class, which have so far come to light, belong to Pūru-gupta.

The coins of Narasimha-gupta Bālāditya, the son of Pūru-gupta, are fairly numerous, and chiefly found in the eastern provinces. They are of the usual Archer type and are struck on the suvarna standard. It is from the time of this ruler that we begin to have solitary letters between the feet of the standing king. These occurred at this place in the later Kushāṇa coinage, but were discontinued by the Gupta rulers. Why they were introduced now, and what their significance was, we do not know. On the coins of Narasimha-gupta we have the letter gre between his feet.

The coinage of Kumāra-gupta II, the son and successor of Narasimha-gupta, is confined to the Archer class and is much more numerous than may be expected. Some coins, bearing the letter Ku (= Kumāra-gupta) and the reverse legend śrī kramādityah, are in base metal and very rude in fabric. Between the king's feet, they show the letter go. Several other pieces, bearing the letter ku (= Kumāra-gupta) and the reverse legend Kramādityah, are purer in metal and superior in artistic merit. Here there is no letter between the feet of the king. It is not unlikely that the two distinct groups of coins bearing the name of Kumāra-gupta may belong to two different rulers. One of them, consisted of purer metal, may be attributed to Kumāra-gupta II (c. A.D. 473), and the other consisted of baser metal to Kumāra-gupta III, who ruled in the second quarter of the sixth century.

Coins of Kumāra-gupta II can be easily distinguished from the Archer type of Kumāra-gupta I on account of their larger size, hea-

12 Tumain inscription (EI, XXVI, p. 115).
13 This could have happened in c. A.D. 470. Chatotkacha could have been a governor of the Malwa area at the age of 30 in c. 435. In that case he should have been about 65 years old in c. A.D. 470.
14 S. K. Saraswati, Indian Culture, p. 691; see also B. N. Mukherjee, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 31st session, p. 771.
vier weight, and the reverse legend, which is Kramādityaḥ and not Mahendrādityaḥ.

Budha-gupta, the successor of Kumāra-gupta II, was a powerful ruler, who ruled for a fairly long time (c. A.D. 476/77-494/95 or 500?). His gold coinage, however, is very meagre. However, on a few pieces the legend under the arm clearly reads as Budha. The type is the Archer type of the heavy weight standard, the biruda on the reverse being Vikrama. Some Archer type coins of the heavy weight standard, which have the biruda Vikrama on the reverse and no legend under the arm, will also have now to be attributed to Budhaga-puṇa.

Budhaga-puṇa is the last Gupta ruler to issue silver currency; all his coins are of the fan-tailed peacock type current in Madhyadeśa. The discontinuance of the Western India types shows that the Guptas had probably lost control over Gujarāt and Kāthiawar at this time.

The contents of the Bharsar hoard shows that one Prakaśāditya ruled soon after Skanda-gupta. If Puru-gupta, a brother of Skanda-gupta ruled at all, he must have done so immediately or shortly after the latter. Hence the gold coins of fairly pure metal and of the heavy weight standard, which bear the reverse legend śrī-Prakaśādityaḥ, may be attributed to Puru-gupta. These coins show on one side a horseman slaying a lion and on the other the figure of seated Lakshmī. However, if the name Bhānu-gupta has been correctly read in the obverse legend of a recently noticed coin of Prakaśāditya, then the pieces may be considered to have been minted by Bhānu-gupta, referred to in the Eran inscription of the year 191 (c. A.D. 510-11).

Some debased gold coins of Archer type, struck on the heavy weight standard, bear the name Vishnu (=Vishnугupta). Vishnu-gupta is definitely known to have been the son and successor of Kumāra-gupta II. The findspots of the coins of Vishnугupta are confined only to the eastern part of the Gupta empire.

In this region, Vainya-gupta rose to power soon after Budhaga-puṇa’s death. The latter’s gold coinage is in the usual archer type. Vainya-gupta adopted the biruda Dvādaśāditya on the reverse of his

15 INSI, XII, p. 113; pl. X, no. 2.
15a Ibid., Vol. XLII, p. 120 and pl. VI, no. 2.
16 They are mostly from the Kalighat hoard, but one was found in Cuttack district (ASIIA, 1926-1927, p. 250).
16a Attempts have been made to attribute some Archer type gold pieces, bearing the name Chandra and biruda Vikrama and struck apparently on the successor standard, to one Chandra-gupta (III). According to a hypothesis, he flourished immediately before Vainya-gupta Dvādaśāditya. (Numismatic Digest, Vol. V, pt. II, 1931, p. 299).
coins. Between the feet of the standing king on the obverse, there is the letter bha.

Vainya-gupta is rather an unusual name; for several decades the first two letters of his name, written under the arm of the standing king, were mistaken for Chandra, giving rise to the theory of historicity of a ruler called Chandra-gupta III in the Gupta empire. The discovery of the Gunaigher inscription, however, showed that there was a Gupta emperor named Vainya-gupta ruling in A.D. 507. This enabled D.C. Ganguli to correct the longstanding mistake and identify the Dwādaśāditya of the coins with Vainya-gupta of the epigraph. Nevertheless, the existence of a Chandra-gupta III can still be postulated on different numismatic grounds.16b

II. REGIONAL, LOCAL AND TRIBAL COINS OF THE ARYAVARTA IN THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

In different parts of the Āryavarta well-known Kushāṇa coins-types like “king at altar: enthroned goddess”, “standing king: Mañ (or Miiro)” and “Siva with bull” were imitated by inter alia local rulers and moneys (see also section VI). Some varieties of coins of certain tribes who paid tributes, etc., to Samudra-gupta may be dated on inter alia palaeographic features of their legends, to c. 3rd-4th century A.D. (or, in some cases, to a still later age?) We can especially refer to the large copper coins of the Yaudheyas bearing the figure of Kārttikeya standing with a peacock on one side and a female deity on the other. The legend on the obverse is Yaudheya-ganāsya jaya. Numerous tiny copper-pieces (weighing from 1.7 to 15 grains) of the Mālavas display different devices (tree, animal, human head, etc.) and a part of the legend speaking of their victory or referring to one of their chiefs. These Mālava coins are comparable with the smaller specimens of copper coins (weighing from about 5 to 60 grains) of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī (bearing generally a symbol, or an animal or a bird and a legend). They might have continued to strike coins up to the time of Gaṇapatināga, who was among the Āryavarta kings forcibly exterminated by Samudra-gupta. To Achyuta, another of such exterminated or uprooted rulers, have been attributed some coins from Pañchāla showing a wheel on one side and the name Achyu on the other. Similarly Rudra of a coin-type bearing that name on one side and Siva and bull on the other may be identified with Rudradeva, who was also exterminated by Samudra-gupta. The Maghas or rather their successors struck coins

16b See above no. 16a. A gold-plated coin of the Archer type, bearing the legend śṛ-uktarama, may refer to this ruler or to Chandra-gupta II. This piece has been unearthed during an excavation at Sonkh (Indian Archaeology—A Review, 1970-71) p. 10 and p. XXVII, no. B. see also the appendix, fn. 67).
in Kauśāmbī in the early fourth century A.D. before that area was annexed to the Gupta empire.\footnote{16c}

It appears that in the fourth century A.D. regional, local and tribal rulers and private moneyers struck coins in parts of the Arvârta before the Gupta rule and in certain areas of that territory (lying outside the Gupta empire) even during the Gupta age. The unofficial series of the so-called Puri-Kushan coins (bearing imitations of Kushâna coin-devices), which had begun earlier than the fourth century A.D., was probably continued, at least for some time, during the period under review\footnote{16d} (in \textit{inter alia} the Gupta empire?).\footnote{16e}

\section*{III. COINAGE OF MADHYADESA (MIDDLE COUNTRY) AND EASTERN INDIA (C. A.D. 500-985)}

Madhyadesa was the centre of the political and cultural life of Northern India during the greater part of the period A.D. 500 to 985. But its history in the sixth century is still shrouded in considerable obscurity. The Hûnâ invasions shook the Gupta Empire to its foundations and fissiparous tendencies soon asserted themselves.

It appears that by sometime of the first half of the sixth century a king named Bhîmasena assumed independence in a part of Madhyadesa and issued silver coins closely resembling those of Budhagupta. His coin-type shows the usual bust of the king on the obverse with a date in its front, which has not yet been deciphered. The reverse shows the fan-tailed peacock with the circular legend \textit{vijitāvanir = avanipatis-śri-Bhîmasena (or Bhîmarājō) divān jayati.}\footnote{17} It appears that the power of Bhîmasena or Bhîmarāja was shortlived; he or his successors were displaced by the Maukharis by C. A.D. 550.

A king named Virasena is known from a few gold coins found in the U.P.\footnote{18} Their reverse closely copies the seated goddess motif of

\footnote{16c In this connexion see P. L. Gupta, \textit{Coins}, p. 39f; K. K. Dasgupta, \textit{A Tribal History of Ancient India}, p. 115 f, and 209 f; H. V. Trivedi, \textit{Catalogue of the Coins of the Nâga Kings of Pâdmâvatî p. ff}; and the Shastri, \textit{Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins}, pp. 90 and 97; J. Allan, \textit{Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India}, p. 276 and pl. XL, no. 1; etc. See also the appendix on Numismatic Art. Some copper coins of a ruler called Râvaṇa have been doubtfully attributed to the Yaudheyas (K. K. Dasgupta, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 210-211).

\footnote{16d V. A. Smith, \textit{Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta}, Vol. 1, pp. 92-93. The so-called Puri-Kushan coins are so named because a find of these copper pieces bearing crude imitations of Kushâna coin-types (standing king; a standing deity) was made in the Puri district in 1893. Later, coins of this class were found in several places. Some local coin-types might have evolved (at least partly) out of the so-called Puri-Kushâna coins. (For an example, see J. Allan, \textit{Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India}, p. ccii).}

\footnote{16e These pieces could have been struck for \textit{inter alia} supplementing available supply of copper coins.}

\footnote{17 ASR, \textit{IX}, p. 26; pl. V. 16; IC, p. 27, pl. IV, 14, A. S. Altekar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 819.}

\footnote{18 CGD, pp. 151-2, pl. XXIV, E-I.
the Gupta coinage, but the obverse shows a bull in the upper half and the inscription \textit{sri-Virasena} in the lower. His \textit{biruda} on the reverse is Kramāditya. The coins of this ruler are about 20 grains heavier than even the \textit{suvarna} standard. It is difficult to determine the chronological position of this ruler. It appears that he had succeeded in carving out a kingdom for himself somewhere in northern U.P. during the first half of the sixth century. The same observation will have to be made about a king named Harigupta known from Chhatra and Vase (Kalasa) type copper coins.\textsuperscript{19} A Gupta prince named Harigupta is known to the Jaina tradition as the preceptor of Toramāṇa. Can it be that Harigupta was a scion of the Gupta family, who issued coins of the above type as a king, and who later became a monk and preceptor of Toramāṇa?

During the sixth century there was a contest for supremacy in Madhyaadeśa between the Maukharis and Later Guptas, neither of whom have left any gold coinage. The Maukharis, however, started silver coinage when they began to claim imperial position under Iśānavarman by c. A.D. 550. Their coin type closely imitates that of Budha-gupta, but the king's face is sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left. The date is given in front of the face. The reverse shows the fan-tailed peacock with the Gupta legend \textit{vijitavanir=vanipatis-	extit{sri}......divam jayati}, the name of the particular issuer being inserted in the proper place.

Iśānavarman (c. A.D. 540-555), Sarvarman (c. A.D. 555-570) and Avantivarman (c. A.D. 570-600) are the three Maukhari \textit{Mahārājādhirājas} who have left us their coins. The dates on their coins cannot be properly interpreted partly because we do not know the era and partly because the figures are indistinct. 54 and 55 are certain dates on the coins of Iśānavarman, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 554. 58 is a certain date for his successor Sarvarman, and 71, for the latter's successor Avantivarman. It could, therefore, be plausibly suggested that the dates might be referring to a Maukhari era beginning in c. A.D. 500, when Harivarman, the grandfather of Iśānavarman, can well be assumed to have started his career. The coins of the Bhitaura hoard, however, appear to give the dates (2) 36 and (2) 3x for Sarvarman and (2) 57 for Avantivarman.\textsuperscript{20} The reading of these dates is very uncertain; if correct, they cannot be referred to the Gupta Era with hundreds omitted. Nor can the years 54 and 55 on Iśānavarman's coins be referred to the era of the year 52 on the coins of Toramāṇa.

\textsuperscript{19} U.C.G., p. 152; A.S. Altazar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 329.
\textsuperscript{20} JRAS, 1906, pt. II, pp. 343; INSL, XXVI, p. 30f.
For, the two rulers were separated from each other by about half a century.  

It is probable, but not certain, that the coins of Pratāpāśila found in the Bhitaura hoard were issued by Prabhākara-varadhana, the father of Harsha-varadhana. This hoard contained as many as 284 coins of Śilāditya who, of course, is none other than Harsha-varadhana. Harsha’s silver coins follow the Gupta prototype, as was the case with the coins of the Maukharis. Dates 31 and 33, which have been read on them, most probably refer to Harsha’s own era. 

To the same ruler K. D. Bajpai has attributed a unique round gold piece (weighing 11.3.5 grains). One side of this piece displays four-handed Śiva Parvatī as seated on a bull (nandī). The other side carries the legende paramābhātṭāraka - manarajādhirāja - parameśvara-śri-mahārāja Harshadeva.  

Some gold coins of thin fabric and light weight (c. 7.7 and 19.7-24.8 grains), which appear to have been produced following the repoussé technique, bear a couchant bull and the name of the issuer. The issuers include Varāha, Bhavadatta, and Arthapati of the Nala dynasty of South Kosala. These rulers may be dated to about the second half of the sixth century A.D. Similar gold coins, displaying inter alia the figure of a Garuḍa with outstretched wings, bear legends referring to Prasannamātra (of the Sarabhapuriya dynasty and of early 6th century A.D.), Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya.  

In Eastern India, Harsha’s rival Saśāṅka has left us gold coinage which is sufficiently original. Saśāṅka was a devoted Saiva, and the obverse of his coins shows Śiva reclining on his Bull. There is the full orb of the moon above on the right, obviously in allusion to the name of the issuer Saśāṅka. The name itself has been engraved both on the obverse and reverse, usually in an abbreviated form. The reverse shows Lakshmi seated on lotus as on the Gupta coins, but an additional feature is introduced by adding an elephant on either side to give her ablution. The coins of Saśāṅka are usually of the suvarṇa standard, but there is one which weighs only 85 grains.  

21 E. J. Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 27; B. P. Sinha, The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha, p. 427f.  
21b P. L. Gupta, Coins, p. 61; JINSI. Vol. I, p 29f; A. S. Altekar, op cit., p. 214. JINSI, Vol. XII, p. 9; Vol. XXII, p. 184; Vol. XXXIII, p. 61f. We can refer here to the copper coins (a couchant bull: legend) of Sumanda, who probably ruled in the 5th or 6th century A.D. in a part of north-eastern Orissa. It is interesting to note that couchant bull also appears on tiny gold fondus (a couchant bull: regnal date in Telugu) attributable to the Eastern Gangas of Orissa.  
22 CGD, p. 148. The coins with similar weight might have been struck on a standard different from the suvarṇa standard (A. S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 328; Desh (in Bengali), April, 24, 1969, p. 18). Many coins carrying the name of Saśāṅka have debased metal and some of them appear to look like silver (JNARS, 1978, p. 158).
King Samāchāradeva (of Vaṅga?), who ruled slightly before Saśānka, issued gold coins with the biruda Narendrāditya. One of the types of this ruler is the usual Archer type, but the standard is the bull standard. On the other type the king is seated on the obverse on a couch with two queens or female attendants on either side. The reverse of this type has seated Lakshmī as on the former, but there is a haṁsa (goose) in front of her in addition.

Uncertainty prevails about king Jaya, who has issued gold coins of the Archer type. The reverse of his coin type has an elephant giving ablution to Lakshmī seated on a lotus, obviously adapted from the reverse of Saśānka’s coinage. The biruda of the reverse is Prakāṇḍayāsas. The full name of this ruler is considered to have been Jayanāga and he is identified with one of the successors of Saśānka bearing the same name. His epigraphic record describes him as paramabhāgavata. On the coins we have Chakradhvaja on the obverse, which lends additional support to the proposed identification.

Several coins of the Archer type, datable to the 7th-8th century A.D. have been found in *inter alia* Jessore, Dacca, Bogra, and Comilla districts of Bangladesh. They are in base gold and weigh only about 85 grains. These pieces have the Archer type on the obverse and a standing eight-armed (sometimes four-armed or six-armed) goddess on the reverse. Among the names appearing on these coins are Śrīkramā (=śrī-Kramāditya), Śrīkumāra (or śrī-Kumāra), Pṛithuvīra (or Pṛithuvala), Balabhaṭṭa, jīva (=Jivadhāranārāta), Śrī, Rāma and Naladeva. These coins are found mainly in the eastern side of the territory once included in undivided Bengal. It is, therefore, most probable that these coins were issued in that region. At least some of the coins in question have been attributed to ancient Samataṭa, (now included in South-eastern Bangladesh). Their metrology also follow the weight standard indicated by one of the coins of Saśānka weighing 85 grains.

In this connection we should refer to a number of silver coins bearing a recumbent bull on one side and a tripartite symbol on the other. B. N. Mukherjee has read the legend on them as *Harikela* and has assigned them to the territory of the same name (which initially denoted the Chittagong district and gradually included also
Nokhali, Comilla and Sylhet districts of Bangladesh).\textsuperscript{27} The coins bearing the name Harikela have been broadly divided into two series on the basis of their weight, size and fabric.\textsuperscript{28} The coins of the first series which are of thicker and smaller flan and of heavier weight (5 to 7.5 gms., i.e. about 78 to 116 grains), have been assigned to c. 7\textsuperscript{th} (or 7\textsuperscript{th}-8\textsuperscript{th}) century.\textsuperscript{29} They are considered to have been influenced, stylistically, metrologically and typologically, by the coinage of the Chandras of Arakan and to have influenced in similar ways the silver coinage of Paṭṭikedā (including the Comilla area) of c. 8\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.\textsuperscript{30} Coins of the second series, which are of thinner and larger flan and of lighter weight (usually 2.38 to 3.3690 gms., i.e. about 36 to 52 grains), have been dated to c. 9\textsuperscript{th} 12\textsuperscript{th} (or 13\textsuperscript{th}) century.\textsuperscript{31} Most of the coins of the second series carry only the obverse device (recumbent bull), the other side remaining blank. Several other groups of silver coins, some of them carrying local names, are considered to have been associated with the above noted two series of coins of Harikela.\textsuperscript{32}

The coins of Harikela continued to be issued during the period of the Pālas and of the Senas, the two powerful ruling families of eastern India. However, neither the Pālas nor the Senas are known to have issued coins.

Harsha was succeeded in the region of U.P. first by the 'Varman' and they by the 'Ayudha' dynasty, but their rulers hardly paid any attention to coinage. It, however, appears probable that the coins bearing the name Yaśovarman which closely resemble the contemporary Kāśmira currency, may have been issued by Yaśovarman, the king of Kāṇyakubja (Kanauj) and patron of Bhavabhūti. This ascription is not free from difficulties, for early collectors have noted that the coins of this ruler were found in the Panjab and Kashmir. The Kāśmira annals, however, know of no king named Yaśovarman, and there is nothing improbable in Yaśovarman having eventually decided to imitate the coin-type of the family of his conqueror Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa of Kāśmira. Yaśovarman may have reasserted his power subsequent to the death of Lalitāditya and included a portion of the Panjab in his dominions. His coins could thus well

\textsuperscript{29} See above n. 27.
\textsuperscript{31} Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. X, 1976-77, p. 167. Recorded weights of several coins of both series may mark them as submultiples of the denomination indicated here.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., pp. 169-170.
be found in the Manikyala stūpa. Hoernle attributed these coins to king Yaśodharman of Malwa. This is, however, improbable. If Yaśodharman had issued any coinage in c. A.D. 520, it would have been in imitation of one of the Gupta types. He is not likely to have copied a barbarous type not current in Malwa, but issued in distant Kashmir by Toramāṇa, the father of the enemy he had crushed. 33

On the coins of Yaśovarman, which are in base gold, the obverse shows the crude figure of standing goddess with the letters śrī-Yaśovā to her left and ṛma to her right. On the reverse there is the crude figure of the standing king with the letter ki written under the arm.

The Gurjara-Pratihāras established a big empire in Northern India in the eighth-ninth century. One of the most powerful rulers of this imperial dynasty, Bhoja I, issued coins bearing the legend śrīmad = Ādi-Varāhah. The expression Ādi-varāh, which can refer to the boar incarnation of Vishnu, was also assumed by Bhoja I as one of his titles. His coins are in silver; their usual weight is 60 grains and diameter 0.75". On the obverse of these coins we have the representation of Varāha (Boar), one of the incarnations of Vishnu. The deity is here shown with animal head and human body. The deity faces right with left leg raised; the expression is energetic and clearly conveys the resolve of the god to save the earth. Below the left leg is chakra, referring to Vishnu. There are also other objects, including a trident behind him; these, however, can be completed only from their traces on different coins. The reverse is mostly occupied with the legend in two lines (1) śrīmad = Ādi- (2) Varāhah. There are, however, traces of inter alia an attenuated fire altar below the legend. The coins of Bhoja are found in Rajputana and U.P. and they are appropriately described as Ādivarāha-dramma in the contemporary inscriptions. (See also section ‘D’ of the appendix on Numismatic Art).

Some silver coins (bearing the above devices?) are attributed to Vināyakapāla, one of the successors of Bhoja. But the ascription seems to be very doubtful. The same may be observed about the attribution of the coins carrying the legend śrī-Vigraha and imitation of bust and fire altar with attendants on Sasanian and Indo-Sasanian series. These coins concerned have been referred to as Vigrahamāla-dramma in epigraphic sources.

IV. THE COINAGE IN WESTERN INDIA AND MALWA

The dynasties that were ruling in Western India during c. 300 to 630 A.D. were no doubt petty, but they were more particular about

33 For the theory attributing these pieces to Saṅkaravarman of Kāśmīra, see S. C. Ray, Early History and Culture of Kashmir, 2nd edition, pp. 240-241.
coinage than many of their confrères in Northern India. At the beginning of the period covered by this volume, the Sakas were ruling over Gujarat and Kathiawar; we find them continuing their old coin-types. The Guptas, who overthrew them, borrowed their silver coinage. In southern Gujarat, the Traikūṭakas rose to power in the fifth century (or in the third-fourth century) (see fn 36). We find two rulers of the house issuing silver currency similar to that of the Western Kshatrapas. The Gupta rule was followed by that of the Maitrakas in Kathiawar; and the Kalachuris rose to power in Malwa a little later. Both these dynasties paid some attention to the issue of coins.

1. THE SAKA COINAGE

There is an unusually long gap of 15 years in the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, from the year 255 to the year 269 (i.e. from fifth century (or in the third-fourth century) (see fn 36). We find any satisfactory manner. There is also a gap in the coinage of Rudrasena III from the year 274 to the year 279 (i.e. from A.D. 351/52 to 356/57).\(^{33a}\) It is not unlikely that Sarva Bhattāraka, who issued coins with the title Mahākshatrapa, was the ruler who had temporarily eclipsed the Kshatrapa power.\(^{34}\) His coins are found in Gujarat and Kathiawar and the title Mahākshatrapa, which he assumes, suggests that he was a contemporary of the Saka Mahākshatrapas. This theory, however, cannot yet be regarded as definitely proved.

Dated lead coins, bearing dates from the year 280 to 294 (i.e. A.D. 357/58 to 371/72), and having humped bull on one side and the usual three arched hill, crescent and star on the other, have been found in the Kshatrapa kingdom. But their attribution is not certain. They belong to the reign of Rudrasena III, but do not bear his name. Can it be that they were issued by Sarva Bhattāraka? This suggestion derives some support from the circumstance that the trident on the silver coins and the bull on lead coins both point to Saiva inclination of the issuer.

G. V. Acharya stated that among the coins of the Sonepur hoard, there were some which supplied 301, 312 and 31x as new dates for Rudrasena III.\(^{35}\) These coins, however, were not illustrated. So one cannot be quite sure that the dates were correctly read. If we accept these dates, it will follow that Rudrasena III was ruling

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\(^{33a}\) R. Saloman, *Western Kshatrapa and Related Coins*, p. 193.

\(^{34}\) *JNSI*, VI, pp. 19-23; Vol. XXXI, pp. 27f. On some places the name of the issuer may be written as Sāa Bhattāraka.

\(^{35}\) *Num. Suppl. XLVII*, pp. 95-99.
contemporaneously with four of his successors Simhasena, Rudrasena IV, Satyasimha, and Rurasintha III. This, however, seems improbable. Rudrasena III had already completed 30 years of his reign in c. 500 S.E. (A.D. 377-78) and is not likely to have ruled contemporaneously with four of his successors. The coinage of the four successors of Rudrasena III, mentioned above, follows the usual Kshatrapa type and need not detain us any longer. The political problems connected with the troubled times, covered by the reigns of these and the other Saka kings mentioned above, have been dealt with already in an earlier chapter (p. 121). The last known date on the coins of Rudrasimha III is 310 or 311x. This would show that the Gupta conquest of Western India could not have been achieved much later than C. A.D. 398.

2. THE COINAGE OF THE TRAIKÜTAKAS, MAITRAKAS AND KALACHURIS

The Traikûtaka dynasty ruled over a petty kingdom in South Gujarat during the greater part of the fifth century. Two of the rulers of the house, Dharasena (c. A.D. 446-465) and Vyâghrasena (c. A.D. 465-485), issued silver currency. As may be expected, their coinage closely follows the Kshatrapa prototype, so much popularised in Gujarat during the three preceding centuries. The obverse shows the bust of the king, but the meaningless traces of Greek letters have been dispensed with. The Kshatrapa custom of giving the date behind the bust of the king is also given up. The reverse shows the usual three-arched hill and star surrounded by the circular legend, giving the name and title of both the issuer and his father. The legend on Dharasena’s coins is mahârâjendra-dattam-putrâ-parama-Vaishnava-śrî-mahârâjâ-Dharasena, and that on the Vyâghrasena’s coins is mahârâja-Dharasena-putra-parama-Vaishnava-śrî-madhârâja-Vyâghrasena. They obviously imitate the legend on the Kshatrapa coins. The Traikûtaka legend, however, also gives the religious persuasion of the issuer as was done on some Gupta coins. The legends show that both Dharasena and his son Vyâghrasena were Vaishnava Dharma emperors.

The Maitrakas of Valabhi rose to power towards the end of the fifth century. It appears probable that several silver coins, bearing a rude bust of the king on the obverse and a trident on the reverse, with a circular legend including the word Bhaṭṭâraka in it, were issued by

36 These tentative dates are suggested on the basis of referring the years known from the epigraphs of the Traikûtaka kings (year 207 mentioned in an epigraph of Dharasena and year 241 referred to in a record of Vyâghrasena) to the era of A.D. 249. But an attempt has been made to assign the dates to the era of A.D. 78 (B. D. Chattopadhyay, Coins and Currency Systems in South India, pp. 20-25). See also the Numismatic Digest, Vol. III, pt. II, 1978, pp. 42f; Vol. V, pt. I, 1981, p. 31f).
Senāpati Bhāṭṭāraka, who was the founder of the dynasty and was called Bhāṭṭāraka in epigraphs. He might have been a descendant of Sarva Bhāṭṭāraka, mentioned above, who had issued similar coins in c. A.D. 370. These so-called Valabhi coins have been found in number in the vicinity of Valabhi. The type appears to have been continued by the successors of Bhāṭṭāraka in a progressively degraded form, for more than a century.

A Kalachuri family rose to power in Malwa in the latter half of the sixth century. Coins bearing the name of Krishṇarāja are to be attributed to one of its early rulers of that name who was the father of king Saṅkaragana (c. A.D. 580-600) and grandfather of king Buddharāja (c. A.D. 600-620). The coins are too early to be attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Krishṇa I (c. A.D. 758-772). The coins of the Kalachuri Krishṇarāja are in silver; their size is about 0.45" and weight about 30 grains. The obverse shows the face of the king to right, with moustache, as on the Kshatrapa and (certain classes of) Gupta silver coins. There are, however, no traces of any date or Greek letters. The reverse has the bull device, which occurs on the Nāga and Gupta coins current earlier in Malwa. The circular legend is parama-māheśvara-mātāpitrīpādanudhyāta-śrī-Krishṇarāja. The legend follows the Valabhi prototype in giving the religious persuasion of the issuer. The adjective mātāpitrī-pādanudhyāta is apparently intended to improve the Kshatrapa practice of giving merely the name of the issuer's father. The historian, however, would have been happier if the names of the parents had been given, or at least that of the father.

The coins of Krishṇarāja continued to be issued posthumously for at least 150 years.38 This would appear rather surprising; but the mystery is partly solved when we remember that no contemporary power issued any silver coinage in Malwa, Central India, and Northern Deccan during this period. This circumstance will also explain the fairly wide prevalence of the coins of Krishṇarāja from Satara to Southern Rajputana, and Salsette to Amaraoti.39

V. HUṆA AND INDO-SASANIAN COINAGE

The main and striking peculiarity of the Hūṇa coinage is the absence of originality. The Hūṇas went on merely copying the coin-
types current in the provinces conquered by them. These coin-types, therefore, supply a useful clue to the expansion of their power.

In the course of their conquests, the Hūnas came into conflict with the Sasanians from c. A.D. 435 to 485, and their earliest coinage is closely modelled on the Sasanian prototype. In the beginning, they were content merely with restriking the Sasanian coins with their own bust on one side, making the other almost obliterated during the process; later, they began to stamp the reverse also with the Sasanian motif of altar and two attendants. As these coins were struck for circulation in trans-Indian provinces, we need not consider them here.

The leader or leaders of the Hūna invasion, who shook the Gupta Empire to its foundation, must have issued his or their own coinage, but it cannot be definitely identified at present. According to the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun, Lae-lih was the leader of one of the Ye-tha (i.e. Ephthalite or White Hun) invasions of India. Cunningham suggested that this general should be identified with Lakhāna Udayāditya, known from some thin silver coins, having on the obverse a bust with the legend Lakhāna Udayāditya, and on the reverse, an altar with attendants. This suggestion is, however, untenable. The reading Lakhāna is by no means certain, and it is difficult to understand how Lae-lih can be transformed into Lakhāna. The coins of Udayāditya show a complete and well-engraved Bhāhmī legend and the issuer assumes the Sanskritic epithet of Udayāditya. No Hūna invader could possibly have issued in the period of Lae-lih (third or last quarter of the fifth century A.D.) coins showing so advanced an Indianisation.

The coins issued by the first Hūna invaders of Afghanistan and the Panjab must have been close copies of the Sasanian prototype with furtive efforts at Indianisation. They were probably similar to the silver pieces found in the excavations at Shahaji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar in A.D. 1911. Like Sasanian prototype these coins are thin and large silver pieces, having Sasanian bust on the obverse and faint traces of a fire-altar and attendants on the reverse. The obverse legend is sometimes in cursive Greek script and sometimes in Pahlavi script. Indian influence is, however, seen gradually asserting itself on these coins. Solitary Brāhmī letters like sha, cha, and thāi make their appearance, as also distinctively Brahmanical symbols like conch and

40 NC. 1894, pp. 251-252.
41 JASB. 1913, pp. 481-3; pls. X and XI: NC. 1894, p. 279.
42 JASB. 1913, pp. 48-53; pls. X and XI.
wheel, which appear behind the king's head. These coins also show the so-called Ephthalite symbol.

The earliest Huna invader, whose identity can be reasonably presumed! is Toramana, and he has left us a fairly numerous coinage. As the title Shahi and Jawula are given to this ruler in his Salt-range inscription, it is very probable, but by no means certain, that the following two types of large and thin silver coins should be attributed to him.


   Reverse: —Faint traces of a fire-altar with attendants.

2. Obverse: —King riding on horse to r.; discus and conch in the field. Ephthalite symbol behind the horseman. Legend in Gupta characters, Shahi Jabula.

   Reverse: —As in No. 1 above. In some cases there is a chakra.44 The legend Shao Zobil (or its variants) in sursve Greek characters may be noticed on silver coins bearing these devices.45

If we assume that Jabula was not a personal title of Toramana, but an epithet shared by him with other Huna rulers, we cannot attribute these coins to Toramana alone. Some of them may have been issued by his contemporary generals and some by his successors.46

There is no such uncertainty about the attribution of the third silver type of Toramana, because its legend contains his name. This type is in close imitation of the Gupta silver coinage of the Madhyadesa variety in size, weight, and device. The obverse shows the bust of the king closely similar to that on the coins of Budha-gupta, only its direction is changed from the right to left. The reverse has the fan-tailed peacock with the legend vijitavanir-avanipati-shri-Toramana dvaran jayati. The coins are dated in the year 52 (?) and it would be least objectionable to assume that 52 stands for the year (1) 52 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to A.D. 471.47 It is suggested by some scholars that the year 52 may refer to a Huna era founded in c. A.D. 450. But one cannot then explain why the years in the Huna era should not be found on other coins of Toramana and those of his successors, or in any of their inscriptions.

Toramana issued no gold coins. His silver coins are also rare. However, he issued copious copper currency. The obverse of one type shows the king standing and offering oblations as on Kushana

44 NC, 1894, p. 278.
46 In this connection see also NC, 1894, pp. 276-278.
47 B. N. Mukherjee reads 82 and 87 on two coins in the British Museum, the dates on which were read earlier as 82 by E. J. Thomas and 82 by A Cunningham. Mukherjee thinks that 82 and 87 stand respectively for (1) 82 and (1) 87. He refers both the dates to the Gupta era (NC, 1905, pp. 208-207).
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coins; the reverse shows the field divided into two parts, as on the Guptan copper pieces; the upper part has the discus, and the lower the legend Śrī-Tora. In some cases, the seated goddess occupies the whole of the reverse as on the gold Guptan coins. These coins may be called Kushāna-Gupta types. One of the types of Toramāna shows the bust on the obverse as on the Sasanian coins, and chakra and the legend Śrī-Tora on the reverse. This may be described as Sasan-Gupta type.

Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāna, issued no gold coining. His silver coining is more scarce even than that of his father. It is interesting to note that no silver coin of his, resembling the Madhyadeśa silver currency of the Guptas, has been found. It is, therefore, likely that he did not hold for long any of the provinces of the Guptan empire where that currency was in vogue.

The silver coining of Mihirakula is Sasanian in its inspiration. The obverse shows a bust to right with a beardless face. Mihirakula was a staunch Śaiva, and so we find on the obverse of his silver coins both the trident and bull-standard. The circular legend is either jayatu Mihirakula or jayatu vrishadhvaja. A fire altar with attendants can be noticed on the reverse. The silver coins are thin and broad pieces. They are generally 1" in diameter and about 50 grains in weight.

The following are the three important copper coing-types of Mihirakula:

1. Horseman type: Obverse:—King riding to r.; Brāhmī legend Mihirakula.
   Reverse:—Goddess seated on throne.

2. Standing king type: Obverse:—King standing and offering sacrifice. Legend Shāhi or śrī-Mihirakula.
   Reverse:—Seated goddess with cornucopia. (Coins of this type are usually found in the Western Panjab, where the Kushāna numismatc traditions still held the field).

3. Bust type: Obverse:—A bust, with the legend jayatu Mihirakula.
   Reverse: A bull in the upper half and the legend jayatu vrisha in the lower half. (Coins of this type usually hail from the Eastern Panjab. They show the Gupta and Sasanian influence).

We have seen above how chakra appears as a symbol on some of the copper coins of Toramāna, and bull on those of his son Mihirakula. We get a large number of copper-coins showing the chakra, the symbol of Toramāna, counterstruck on bull, the symbol of his son and successor Mihirakula. In 1945 one coin of Mihirakula was found showing faint traces of Śrī-Tora below the bust of Mihirakula. This bust itself, however, is counterstruck by chakra, which was originally the symbol of Toramāna.
As the history of the period is obscure, a proper interpretation of these counterstruck coins is still difficult. On one counterstruck coin, we see both chakra and Śrī-Tora superimposed on the face of Mihirakula. This would suggest that Mihirakula had a son Toramāṇa II, who adopted the symbol chakra of his grandfather, after whom he was named, and counterstruck his father’s coins with it. Whether the counter-striking shows any enmity between Mihirakula and Toramāṇa II, we do not know.

There are, however, some coins where chakra alone is counterstruck on the face of Mihirakula; the legend Śrī-Tora has not been counterstruck. These coins may have been issued by the younger brother of Mihirakula who, according to Hsuan-tsang usurped his brother’s throne during his absence in Magadha. In the beginning, the younger brother may have shown the prudence of counterstriking Mihirakula’s coins with chakra, the symbol of their father; later, he may have issued coins bearing his own name. Some of the copper coins bearing the name of Toramāṇa may have been issued by the younger brother of Mihirakula, who may have had the nace of Toramāṇa.

The Rājatarangini informs us that a king named Toramāṇa was kept in long imprisonment by his elder brother Hiranya for presuming to issue coins in his own name. Hoernle has suggested that the counterstruck coins, we are discussing, may support this tradition as recorded by Kalhana. The main difficulty in agreeing with Hoernle is the absence of the name of Hiranya on any of the coins counterstruck by Toramāṇa.

The independent accounts of Hsuan-tsang and Kalhana show that there was some usurpation in the Hūṇa house soon after the time of Toramāṇa or Mihirakula, which was eventually reflected in coinage. The counterstruck coins appear to refer to this incident though its precise nature cannot be made out.

The numismatic evidence makes it quite clear that the Panjab continued to be a Hūṇa stronghold even after the overthrow of Mihirakula in c. A.D. 530. Two Hūṇa families were ruling there, one in the South-eastern and the other in the Western Panjab. Kings Bugo or Buto, Khingila, Lakhana Udayaditya, Bharaṇa (or Jāraṇa), Triloka, Purvaditya, Narendra, and others who belonged to the latter family, are so far known (with the exception of Khingila48 from their coinage only. Their relative chronology cannot yet be determined; but we may presume that they ruled from c. A.D. 550 to 675. As may be expected, their coinage follows the Sasanian model, the pieces being thin and large and weighing about 50 to 55 grains. The obverse shows the

48 Mahāvinīyaka image inscription, dated in the year 8, refers to Shāhi Khingala (i.e. Khingila).
typical bust with symbols like conch, trident, flower, altar, etc. The legend (in Brāhmī) begins with Shāhi followed by the name of the issuer. The reverse shows a fire-altar with attendants.49

The Hūṇa family ruling in the South-Eastern Panjab is known as yet from its coinage only.50 So far the names of only four kings of the house are known; they are Mihirodatta, Jishṇu, Prakāśāditya, and Udayāditya. But the dynasty must have included some more rulers; for, we get many coins where the names of the rulers are too fragmentary to be completely made out. The coins of this dynasty show sometimes the bust (as on the Sasanian pieces) and sometimes the standing king (as on the Kushāṇa coins). The reverse has sometimes the fire-altar as on the Sasanian coins, and sometimes a chakra as on the coins of Toramāṇa. Some coins are round and some are square. The Hūṇa ruler, against whom Rājya-vardhana was sent in c. A.D. 605 by his father, was probably a member of this dynasty.

It will be convenient to refer here to the coins of Napki Malka, Shāhi Tigin, Vāsudeva and Vahi Tigin. We do not know whether they were of Hūṇa origin; they, however, imitate the Sasanian prototype and most probably belonged to the Hūṇa stock.

The coins of Napki Malka, who ruled sometime in the seventh century, were found in large number at Bagram and in several stūpas of Afghanistan.51 In his head-dress there is buffalo’s head; we may, therefore, reasonably identify him with the king of Ki-pin referred to by Chinese historians as wearing the head-dress of a buffalo’s head surmounted by a royal tiara. His coins may be described as follows: Obverse: Within dotted border, bust of king to right, face beardless; head surmounted by wings and buffalo’s head. In front of the head, Pahlavi legend Napki Malka.

Reverse:—A fire Altar with attendants; isolated Brāhmī letters like la, hā, na, etc. appear on different coins.

The coins of Vāsudeva are in silver and copper (or billon?). Several of his coins are similar to those of Napki Malka, but there is no buffalo’s head in the head-dress. The circular legend is not yet completely read, but Vakhu (or su) deva52 can be made out. As this ruler issued another coin type closely imitating one of the types of Khusru II (A.D. 591-628), we may place him in c. A.D. 650. On its reverse, there is the sun-god(?) with flames rising to a point at the top. There was a famous temple of the Sun at Multan, and we can well understand why this deity was selected for the reverse motif.

49. NC, 1894, pp. 282f.
50 JRAS, 1907, pp. 99.
51 NC, 1894, p. 267; R. Göbl, op. cit., Vol. III, pls. 43f.
52 R. Göbl, op. cit., Vol. III, pl. 58, no. 244.
by Vāsudeva, whose dominions probably included that city. (See also the appendix on Numismatic Art). Legends on Vāsudeva’s coins are in Brāhmī and Pahlavi and sometimes also in cursive Greek characters (used for writing Bactrian). It appears from his coin-legends that he was the king of Zabolistan (Gazni area), Taki (in the Panjab), Hī(ν)du (Sindhu), Ga(ν)dhāra, Bahmanabad, Multan and Sapādalaksha (Rajputana). Vāsudeva obviously was a powerful ruler.

Shāhi Tigin, who may be placed even before Vāsudeva, is known to have issued coins in silver and copper, or billon?). His coin-types are “bust: fire-altar with attendants”, and “bust: an uncertain object”. We can notice on his coins inscriptions in Brāhmī, Pahlavi and cursive Greek characters (used for writing Bactrian).

Some coins bearing a bust on one side and the Sun-god(?) on the other were attributed to Shāhi Tigin by Cunningham. These have now been attributed to Vahi Tigin. His silver and copper (or billon?) coins are known. Legends in Brāhmī and Pahlavi characters can be noticed on his coins.

We shall now briefly refer to some other coin types which show considerable Sasanian influence. A large number of coins are found in Western Rajasthan closely imitating the Sasanian prototype. Some of these are anonymous and were issued as early as c. A.D. 450. A hoard of these coins, found somewhere in Marwar, contained about 75 thin and large silver pieces, closely imitating the coin type of Phiroz (A.D. 459-484). On their obverse, there is the bust of the king bearing tiara, flanked by two eagle’s wings and surmounted by a crescent enfolding a globe and a star. The reverse shows Fire-altar with two attendants, with a crescent on one’s head and a star on that of the other. These coins were probably issued by early Hūṇa invaders of the Rajasthan area.

When the Hūṇa power disappeared, the Indo-Sasanian type introduced by the Hūṇas continued to hold the field for a long time. Coins of this class are usually uninscribed, but some of them bear short and cryptic legends on the obverse like Śrī-Ha, Śrī-Vāra, Śrī-Haka, etc., which probably give the names of the issuers in an abbreviated form.

The coins of the above type are mostly in silver, and as large as 1” diameter; but India was not accustomed to a silver currency so large in size. There arose, therefore, a tendency to reduce the size of these coins to about 0.5” or 0.6”, which was the diameter of the Kshatrapa and Gupta coins, with which Malwa and Central India were long familiar. The reduction in size took place gradually, so that

52a Ibid., Vol. I, p. 142.
53 IndASB, 1899, pp. 229-231; JASB, 1899, pp. 168-9 and pl. V.
we can clearly distinguish three stages. The weight of the coins, however, was retained at 60 grains and not reduced to about 30 grains, which was the usual weight of the Kshatrapa and Gupta silver coins.

The Sasanian motifs, a bust on the obverse and a fire-altar and attendants on the reverse, were continued on these pieces, but successive generations of mint-masters began to show greater and greater ignorance of their original significance. The bust of the king begins to become more and more narrow-headed and long-nosed; cheeks become narrower and longer. The grotesqueness of the resulting figure, which looks not unlike the face of an ass, is further enhanced by the dots indicating chin and lips being confused with, and made a continuation of, the pearls of the necklace, which further passed over the ear, separating it completely from the head. The Fire-altar is indicated by a cross perched on a stepped platform which begins to look like a gaddi; the pile of dots converging to a point, which takes the place of the flame of the fire on the altar, appears like the ornamental back of the throne or the gaddi. The attendants degenerate merely into two lines.

These uninscribed silver coins are known as Gādhiyā coins. The derivation of the name is uncertain. It may be partly due to the ass-like appearance of the face on the obverse; but it is also possible that the coins may have been originally called gaddia coins, due to the gaddi like appearance of the altar on the reverse; later on gaddia may have been deliberately changed into gadhiya on account of the poor artistic merit of the pieces.

These coins were current in Rajasthan and Central India from c. A.D. 700 to 1200. Who their exact issuers were is not known, as they are uninscribed. It is not unlikely that the Guhīlots, the Paramāras, and the Chaulukyas issued some of them. A hoard of these coins was found in Poona district in 1944; it has, therefore, been suggested that the Gādhiyā coins may have been issued in Maharashtra as well by the Rāṣṭrakūtas. This view, however, requires further evidence in its support.

Another variety of Gādhiyā coins may be referred to here. The obverse is the usual one, but the reverse shows a horseman, attacking foot soldiers. These coins were found somewhere in Indore area and their attribution is uncertain.

56 Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 68-71; pl. VA.
VI. THE COINAGE OF KASHMIR

At the beginning of our period the predominant coin-type in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent consisted of "king at altar" and "enthroned goddess" devices. These Kushāṇa devices were adopted by the successors of the Imperial Kushāṇas in the land of the five rivers\(^{57}\) and also by the rulers of the group of Kidāra Kushāṇa.\(^{58}\) The coins of Kidāra Kushāṇa formed the prototype of the Hūṇa coinage of Toramāṇa in Kāśmīra.\(^{59}\)

Kalhaṇa's account of the Hūṇa kings of Kāśmīra is obscure and their chronology, as given by him, is very confused. Among the Hūṇa rulers mentioned by him, Toramāṇa, Mihirakula, Khingīla, Narendrāditya, and Lakhāna Narendrāditya (= Lakhāna Udayāditya) have left us their coinage. Their coins have been briefly discussed in the preceding pages. It will be sufficient here to refer to the Kāśmīra coinage of Toramāṇa, which stands at the beginning of the medieval coinage of Kāśmīra.

The Kāśmīra coinage of Toramāṇa is all in copper; the pieces are 0.8" in diameter and about 100 grains in weight. They closely follow the Kidāra Kushāṇa prototype. The obverse shows the standing king offering sacrifice at an altar; the reverse has the seated goddess with a crude lotus in her hand. On the obverse, there is the king's name Toramāṇa in the upper left quadrant; it has to be read from outside. On the reverse there is the legend Kidāra, in mechanical imitation of the legend on the earlier coins current in Kashmir.

It is very probable, but by no means certain, that Toramāṇa of the Kāśmīra coins is identical with the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa, whose coins have been discussed above. His coins are found in large quantity in Kāśmīra and adjoining territory, and they show considerable difference in style, execution and palaeography. It is, therefore, certain that coins bearing the name of Toramāṇa were issued for several centuries after the death of that ruler. Śrīvara, a fifteenth century chronicler of Kāśmīra, expressly states that the type was revived by Hassan Shah of Kashmir (A.D. 1472-85), on account of its popularity.\(^{60}\)

Pravarasena (II), Gokarṇa, and Narendrāditya, who figure in Kalhaṇa's narrative, have left us their coinage, but as we do not know their precise chronological place, we need not consider it here in detail. Suffice it is to say that they continue the type popularised by Toramāṇa, but in a very degraded form.

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57 B. N. Mukherjee, Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers, pp. 47-49.
58 Ibid., pp. 48 and 64-65 NC, 1893, p. 199f.
59 For a catalogue of coins of Kāśmīra, see L. Gopal, Early Coin Types of Northern India, p. 57 t. In Chapter XVIII the section on the Little Kushāṇas include some rulers who are regarded here as Hūṇas.
60 M. A. Stein, Khotan斯坦, II, p. 315.
With the rise of the Karkoṭa or Nāga dynasty in the seventh century, we stand on surer ground. Kalhaṇa mentions 17 kings of this dynasty, but we know the coinage of only four of them, viz. Durlabhavardhana, Durlabhaka, Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa and Jayāpiḍa. The type is the same as the old Kushāṇa one, popularised by Toramaṇa, viz. standing king on the obverse and seated goddess on the reverse. But it becomes degraded beyond recognition. In many cases the so-called human figures have no heads or hands and appear like fish or altar. The head, when shown, often looks like a potato with eyes in it; often it is indicated by three dots or circles. Under these circumstances, it is but natural that we should find it difficult to distinguish the male from the female or the standing from the seated figure.

Kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty issued coins in gold and copper. Gold coins are, however, heavily debased, and their weight varies between 100 and 120 grains. The weight of the copper coins is sometimes 110 grains, sometimes 100, and sometimes 90. As centuries rolled by, the weight tended to diminish.

The founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty is known from several gold coins. Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa, the youngest son of Pratāpāditya was the most powerful conqueror of the Kashmir history. After his conquests he assumed another title Pratāpāditya, as stated by Kalhaṇa (IV. 134) and the numerous coinage bearing that title has to be attributed to this ruler.

The all-India conquest attributed to Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa-Pratāpāditya by Kalhaṇa is more poetic than historical. But Kalhaṇa’s statement that the kingdom of Kāṇyaubja (Kanauj) up to the bank of the Yamuna was as completely under the control of the Kāśmira ruler as the courtyard of his own palace, is confirmed by the discovery in 1926 of a large hoard of 16,448 coins of Pratāpāditya in the Banda district of the Uttar Pradesh. Some of these coins may have been of Pratāpāditya, the father of Muktāpiḍa, but the vast majority of them must have been of Muktāpiḍa himself sent to the Banda district, most probably for the payment to the members of the Kāśmira expeditionary force. Some of these coins have the letter ja added to the name, the legend reading sṛī-ja-prativā. It is probable that these coins were issued by Jayāpiḍa, the grandson of the conqueror, who may have acted as a temporary viceroy of the conquered provinces. Jayāpiḍa has left us extensive coinage issued in his

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61 Another theory in this connection is that these coins may have been issued by jajja, the brother-in-law of Jayāpiḍa, who had usurped the throne of Kāšmira while the latter was out on an expeditionary force (JASBS, 1928, pp. 6-7). There are serious difficulties in accepting this theory, which cannot be discussed here for want of space.
own name also; on their reverse they bear the king’s biruda Vinayāditya, the obverse having Jaya under the arm.

The Kāśmīra coinage records some improvement with the rise of the Utpala dynasty (A.D. 855). The figures, both of the standing king and the seated goddess, are crude no doubt, but they are better than those on the coins of the Nāga dynasty. The male can be distinguished from the female, the seated from the standing figure. The king’s costume, however, appears curious and grotesque, and often resembles the flowing drawers of women. His waist is supported by a cross band.

On the coins of the Karkota dynasty, the names of kings were written on one side only; on the coins of the new dynasty, the spelling of the names is spread over both the obverse and the reverse. Thus, on the coins of Saṅkaravarman, Saṅka is written to the left of the seated goddess, ra to the right of the standing king, and varmadeva to his left. An uninitiated person finds it very difficult to read the names of the issuers.

A large number of the kings of the Utpala dynasty have left us their coinage. The coins of the founder Avantivarman are copious so are those of his successor Saṅkaravarman. Saṅkaravarman’s successor Cōpalavarman had a short reign (902-904); so his coinage is scanty. Queen Sugandhā, who also ruled for two years (A.D. 904-906) is one of the few Indian queens who have left us their coins. Her successor Partha ruled for 15 years (906-921), but his coinage is comparatively scarce. As noted above, many kings rose and fell during the next 18 years but only a few of them, Nirjitavarman, Chakrarvarman and Unmattavanti have left us their coinage. The legend on the coins of the last mentioned ruler has been abridged into sri-Unma of the family of Yaśaskara, he left some coins of the usual type, but we have no coins of his son Saṅgrāmadeva, who was murdered by his ambitious minister Parvagupta. The usurping minister ruled for a year and half only, but his coins have come down to our time.

Parvagupta’s son and successor Kshemagupta had a short reign of eight years; but his coinage is numerous. His coins divide themselves into two classes, class I bearing his own name Kshemagupta, and Class II, having the legend Di-Kshemagupta, the first letter being the initial of his favourite queen Diddā. This curious coin legend supports Kalhana’s account about how this king was given the nickname of Diddakshema by his contemporaries on account of his excessive passion for the queen. It is interesting to note that the coins of the latter class are very numerous, while those of the former are rare—again a proof of the ascendancy of the queen over her husband.
Abhimanyu and Nandigupta, the son and grandson of Kshemagupta, issued coins of the usual type. The next two rulers Tribhuvana and Bhimagupta lived in troubled times; but they did not neglect to issue coins. Bhimagupta was succeeded in A.D. 981 by his grand mother, the widowed queen Diddā. On her coins a part of that legend (Srī) is to the right of the seated goddess and another part (Diddā) to her left, while the third part (devyā) is on the reverse and to the left of the standing king.

VII. THE COINAGE OF THE SHĀHIS OF THE PANJAB AND KABUL VALLEY

Coins bearing (i) “lion” and “peacock” (ii) “elephant” and “lion”, (iii) “lion” and “goose(? )” and (iv) “bull” and “horseman” devices were issued by the Shāhis of the Panjab and Kabul Valley who ruled from c. A.D. 850 to 1026. Of these types, the Bull and Horseman type was the latest to be used by the Shāhis and was first introduced by Spalapatideva.61a This was, however the commonly used type, after its introduction. The Elephant and Lion type was less common, and the Lion and Peacock and Lion and Goose (r) types were used only by Kamara (or Kamala). It may be argued that Kamara may be placed earlier than all other rulers, as his type is most archaic. It has been suggested that Kamara may be identical with Kallara, the Brahmana minister, who according to Al-Bīrūnī, founded a new dynasty. There is some phonetic resemblance between the names Kallara and Kamara, but that alone cannot decide the point. It is more likely that Kamara (or Kamala) was one of the later Shāhi rulers. He can be identified with Kamuluka, (=Toramāna), the son of Shāhi Lalliya, mentioned by Kalhana (Rājatarangini, V, 233).

Vakkadeva, Sāmantadeva and Bhimadeva issued coins of the Lion and the Elephant type. Numismatic considerations would suggest that Vakkadeva was the earliest of the three rulers. Most of his coins bear the archaic “Elephant and Lion” type, though he is also known to have used the Bull and Horseman type. The coinage of Sāmantadeva, on the other hand, is mostly in the Bull and Horseman type, his coins in the Elephant and Lion type being relatively fewer.

The Elephant and Lion type coins of Vakkadeva, which are all in copper, show Elephant on the obverse facing left with the king’s name inscribed above the animal. The reverse shows Lion springing to right. The Bull and Horseman type coin of this king, published by Cunningham, is very small in size; its obverse shows a recumbent bull to left with the legend Srī Vā (k) ka above the animal. The reverse shows a horseman charging to right.

61a For a detailed study of the Bull and Horseman type coins of the Shāhis, see NC, 1966, p. 189f. See also the appendix to Numismatic Art, fn. 48.
The Bull and Horseman type, initiated by Spalapatideva, was destined to become popular over the greater part of Northern India. Nay, we find this type occasionally initiated even at Baghdad, in spite of the religious taboo of Islam prohibiting all pictorial representations. Some dirhams of the Caliph Al Muqtadir Billah Ja‘afar (A.D. 927-952) have been found imitating this coin-type.\(^6^2\)

The Bull and Horseman type coins bearing the name of Spalapatideva, are in silver, base silver. billon(?) and copper. The legend śri-Spalapatideva appears on the obverse. A cursive legend is noticeable on the reverse.\(^6^3\) Some additional letters (mint-marks?) may be noticed on the reverse. Differences in stylistic treatment of the devices on the coins concerned suggest that the pieces betraying inferior style and technique of minting may include imitations. Such imitation are in inter alia base silver and billon (?). The genuine and imitation pieces are found in Afghanistan, the Panjab, etc.

The coins of Sāmantadeva, of the Bull and Horseman type, are found in the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent, parts of northern India and Afghanistan. They have been discovered even in Europe. They are in silver, base silver, billon and copper. Their size varies from \(0.7\)" to \(0.8\)" and weight from 45 to 55 grains. The obverse shows Recumbent Bull with trappings facing left. Above the animal is the circular legend śri-Sāmantadeva. The reverse shows the king riding a spirited horse galloping to right. Behind the horseman there is the letter bhi, whose significance is not yet known with certainty. It may be the initial of the name of the governor or of the mint city.\(^6^4\)

The silver coins of the Shāhis indicate three denominations, the highest weighing about 55-58 grains. The weights of three are in the ratio of 1: 2: 3. It has been suggested that the copper coins allude to five denominations in weight.\(^6^4\)\(^a\)

The coins of Khudavayaka are relatively rare, and they are found in silver (and also in billon and copper?). They are of the Bull and Horseman type, but both the obverse and reverse show marked deterioration in execution. Behind the horseman’s head there are a number of solitary letters. Round the head of the horse, there are some letters or figures which have not yet been properly read or interpreted. The name of the king, which occurs as usual above the bull, has been read as Khudavayaka by Stein and Smith. Khu-

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62 INSI, VIII, p. 75.
63 NC, 1968, pp. 212-213.
64 Numismatic evidence has been used to suggest two periods of the Sāmantadeva (D. B. Pandey, The Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab, pp. 85-86; see also NC, 1968, pp. 213-214).
davayaka by Bayley and Rodgers, and Khamarayaka or Khamaradaka by Cunningham. The difference in reading is due to the carelessness in engraving; different letters, as engraved on different coins, seem to justify each one of the above readings for the particular coins concerned. Khudavayaka, however, appears to be the most probable reading; it seems to be a corruption of Kshudravayaka, a nickname that may have been given to the king on account of his being a minor at the time of his accession.

According to Al-Bīrūnī, Kamalu (= Kamaluka = Kamara or Kamala of coins) was succeeded by king Bhima.65 His silver coinage is of the Bull and Horseman type, but the representation of both the animals is very crude. On the obverse above the bull there is the legend Śrī-Bhimadeva; on the reverse, behind the Horseman, there is the letter na, and in front of him there are three symbols of letters, not yet properly interpreted. The copper coins of Bhimadeva have elephant and lion devices.

Bhimadeva also struck gold. One of his gold coins, published by A. Ghosh, displays the seated king and a standing female on the obverse and the figures of seated king and queen (or Lakshmi) on the reverse. The obverse legend is Shāhi Śrī-Bhimadeva. On the reverse appears the legend Śrīmadā-(gata)-Sāmantadeva. The coin concerned weighs 68.0 grains.66

The rest of the Shāhi rulers (including Jayapāla, Anandapāla, Trilochanapāla, and Bhimapāla, who ruled from c. A.D. 960 to 1926) did not strike coins. Some of these were powerful rulers, and we cannot explain satisfactorily the absence of their coins.67

VIII. THE COINAGE OF THE DECCAN AND SOUTH INDIA

The coinage of the Deccan and South India, during the period covered by the volume, is shrouded in considerable obscurity. We have seen how the states in Northern India were issuing fairly numerous currencies, most of which were inscribed and bore the names of the issuers. In the Deccan and South India, however, the case was different. During the earlier period, a number of Roman coins were circulating in South India and they generally bore the effigy and the name of the issuers. The Sātavāhanas also issued coins,

66 NC, 1852, pp. 133-135; pl. VI, no. 1.
67 The name of the striker of some crude copper coins of the Bull and Horseman type was read as Ashtapāla or Aṣṭapāla. He was identified with Ashtapāla, referred to as the father Jayapāla in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shah. But the correct reading of the name of the ruler concerned is Aṁṛtapāla (L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 32). For critical assessments of the Shāhi coinage, see D. W. MacDowall's article in NC, 1968, (p. 19), and D. B. Padday's book Shāhīs of Afghanistan and the Punjab (p. 179 f).
inscribed with the names of the issuers. These coinages could not have been unknown to the governments of the Pallavas, the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas, the Cheras, the Chālukyas, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Under the auspices of these dynasties, the Deccan and South India witnessed striking progress in sculpture, architecture and literature; on several occasions, as under the Chālukya Pulakesīn II and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, mighty empires were built up, which successfully challenged the great powers of Northern India. But, strangely enough, these well organised and cultured governments took no steps to issue artistic and inscribed currency to compete with that of Northern India. It appears that only occasionally some of the governments took a fleeting interest in currency, and when they did so, they issued coins stamped either with their dynastic lāṅchhanas (emblems) or with traditional symbols. It is only rarely that inscribed coins were issued. The question, therefore, of the attribution of the early coin types of South India to the different dynasties of the period is fraught with difficulties. The known lāṅchhanas of the dynasties help us to some extent, but their guidance is not always reliable. Sometimes the lāṅchhanas of the earlier dynasties, e.g. the boar (varāha), were continued by their successors on account of their popularity. Sometimes the conqueror accommodated the lāṅchhanas of the dynasties they had conquered on their coinage along with their own emblems. We have, therefore, to proceed very cautiously in our attribution.68

1. THE SĀLĀṆKĀṆYĀNAS

Chandavarman (c. A.D. 395-450) issued inscribed cast copper coins. These bear a couchant bull on the obverse and the legend Śrī-Chandava (rman) on the reverse.69

68 Our main sources of information are the following:
(a) Elliot, Coins of South India (referred to below as CSI), pp. 36-45.
(b) T. Desekachari, South Indian Coins, pp. 34-36.
(c) M. Rama Rao, Vīshṇukundin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum; Eastern Chālukya Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum.
(d) Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Survey (abbreviated henceforward as MAH) 1937, p. 87; 1940, p. 78.
(f) V. Prakash, Coinage of South India (An Introductory Survey), p. 25 f.
(g) B. D. Chattopadhyay, Coins and Currency Systems in South India, p. 191 f.
(h) R. Nagaswamy, Tamil Coins—A Study, p. 1 f.
(i) V. Narasimha Murty, The Coins of Karnātaka.

2. **THE VISHNUKUNĐINS**

The coins attributed to the Vishnukundins (c. A.D. 450-610) are of copper. The types attributed to them consist of (a) standing bull: sun with rays; (b) couchant or standing bull: trident with lampstands, (sometimes inscribed), (c) standing bull: conch or vase and lampstands (sometimes inscribed), (d) standing bull: wheel and crescent (inscribed), (e) lion: vase and lampstands (sometimes inscribed), (f) lion: conch and (g) lion: wheel and crescent. The legend *Vikrama* on some “bull: conch or vase and lampstands” coins may refer to Vikramendravarman I.

3. **THE KALABHRAS**

It has been claimed that the Kalabhras struck coins in certain areas of the far South for sometime between c. A.D. 300 and 600. These coins are in silver and copper and of various shapes (square, rectangular, round, oval, etc). Of these, several thin pieces weigh 5 or 6 grains, while many of the heavy dumpy pieces weigh over 100 grains. While the great majority of these pieces bear only inscriptions on both sides, the rest bear a variety of devices. The legend *Achuvikanta Kalabhara* has been read on many of these coins.

4. **THE PALLAVAS**

Bull was the emblem of the dynasty and can be seen on some of its copper-plates. The Ratha temples that were constructed under Pallava auspices have got peculiar pillars, having bases representing lions. It is, therefore, suggested that early coins which have either the bull or the lion emblem may be attributed to the Pallava dynasty. This is a probable conjecture and derives support from some other circumstances also. The coins of Bull type are usually found on the eastern coast from Nellore to Pondicherry, and this territory is known to be included in the Pallava dominion. In their general appearance and fabric, the coins resemble the latest Sātavāhana issues and borrow some of their striking emblems like the ship with double mast. Some of them have fragmentary legends, whose characters resemble the Brāhmī script of the fourth or the fifth century A.D.

The Bull type coins of the Pallavas are generally in copper, but a few are in base silver. They are all die-struck. On the obverse they have within a circular border the bull standing to right or left.

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reverse shows diverse symbols like Solar wheel, cross, fish, ship with double mast, etc. One striking symbol on the reverse consists of the Roman capital letter X capped by the inverted capital letter V. This symbol occurs on some punch-marked coins found in Pândya country, and the coins which bear it on the reverse may well be among the earliest issues of the Pallavas.

Some of the Bull type coins have fragmentary inscriptions. Hultsch read some of these legends as Śrībhāra and Śrīnīdhi. These are known to have been the birūdas of Mahendravarman and Rūjastimha, and these coins may have been their issues.

The Lion type coins are all uninscribed. The obverse shows the lion within an enclosed circular border; the reverse has a vase on a stand flanked by two lamp-stands or a wheel, or an elephant, or four dots, etc.

5. THE CHĀLUKYAS

The Chālukyas—Early, Later, and Eastern—had Varāha or Boar as their insignia on their copper-plates, and gold coins having this animal on one side have been attributed to them, no doubt with full justification. We should note that some of the later rulers like the kings of Vijayanagar and even the East India Company issued some coins with the boar on one side; but they can be easily distinguished from the Chālukya varāha coins, by their fabric and palaeography.

As varāha continued on the Chālukya coinage for a very long time and was adopted by some later rulers, gold coins of South India issued by later dynasties were also known by the generic name varāha, though they had no longer this emblem upon them.

There can be no doubt that the varāhas of the Early, Later, and Eastern Chālukyas must have been in wide circulation; very few of them have, however, been found. This is rather inexplicable. If, in spite of the frequent wars in the U.P., Gupta gold coins are found in large quantity, it is difficult to understand why the Chālukya coins should be relatively so rare.

The gold coins of the Chālukyas are usually thin large pieces, about 1.5” in diameter and 65 grains in weight. Their reverse is plain. The obverse has a boar in the centre with an umbrella above and two ādorns on its either side. There is usually one lamp-stand in front of the animal and another behind it. Along the edge of the coin there is a circular legend each letter of which is imprinted by a separate punch. The legend is in old Canarese characters and gives the name of the issuer74 Uninscribed god coins of the dynasty are smaller in size, the boar in the centre being surrounded by several

74 Elliot, CSI, pp. 79-80.
symbols like śaṅkha, chakra, etc.\textsuperscript{75} Some of these coins have the emblem of lotus on the reverse. As their reverse thus resembles the Padmaṭaṅkās, attributed to the early Gaṅgas, these coins are believed to have preceded the inscribed coins of the thinner fabric.

Copper coins of the dynasty are small in size being about .4" to .5" in diameter. They are usually uninscribed, and attributed to the Chāluṣyā dynasty because of the presence of the boar on the obverse. Above the animal we usually have the Sun and the Moon. The reverse has several symbols like śaṅkha, etc.

A few coins of the Western Chāluṣyas of Bādāmī have been found, indicating the name of the issuer. M. H. Krishna ascribed small gold coins having the boar on the obverse and a lotus on the reverse to Pulakeśin I.\textsuperscript{76} These coins are, however, uninscribed and the attribution can at best be regarded as only conjectural.

However, S. Ramayya seems to have successfully attributed to Vikramāditya I a gold piece and three electrum coins bearing interalia a boar on the obverse and a standing male figure on the reverse and the inscription śri-Vikrama on both sides (the electrum coins carrying also the legend śri-Vikramarāja on the obverse and the legend śri-Vikrama-mahārāja on the reverse).\textsuperscript{76a}

The Chāluṣyas of Vengi have left us their coinage of an early period. Several gold, silver, and copper coins have been found with the legend vishamasiddhi or its abbreviation siddhi inscribed upon them. These are usually attributed to Kubja-Viśňuvardhana, who bore this epithet. We should not, however, forget that several later kings named Viśňuvardhana also adopted this epithet, and it is not unlikely that some of these later rulers also issued some of the coins with the legend vishamasiddhi or siddhi.

On gold coins the legend vishamasiddhi is usually in Nāgarī characters, and it is often abbreviated into siddhi. On coins in base silver, the legend is in Telugu characters, and on copper pieces it is in Kannada. This variety in the script need not surprise us. Nāgarī was the usual script on gold coinage. Telugu was current in the dominions of Viśňuvardhana, and Kannada was his native script.

The copper and silver coins have a lion in place of the boar. Their reverse shows various symbols including a double trident surmounted by a crescent and flanked by two lamps.

We possess no coins of any other king of the dynasty who ruled during the period under review. The next king who has left us his inscribed coinage, is Saktivarman, who began to rule in A.D. 999.

\textsuperscript{75} Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. V, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{76} MAH, 1933, p. 96.
The reign of Taila II (A.D. 973/74-997), the founder of the Chālukya house of Kalyāṇā, fell just within this period. M. H. Krishna attributed to this ruler a coin bearing the figures of five lions punched on it. Its legend is, however, only para, and Krishna himself admitted that the coin in question could have been issued by a later ruler as well.

6. THE RĀṢḤṬRAKŪṬAS

The Chālukyas of Bādāmī were supplanted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed. They no doubt eclipsed their predecessors in the glory and might of their empire. But their numismatic record is even poorer than that of the Chālukyas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records refer to golden coins, which were given in charity in lacs on the occasion of the coronation of some emperors like Govinda IV. No Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscribed coins, however, have been found, either in gold, silver, or in copper. References have been made above to the silver coins with the name of Krishnarāja and to those of the Gāḍhiyā type discovered in the Poona district, and also to the unwarranted suggestion that they may have been issued by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. M. H. Krishna described eight coins which have the figures of four lions hunched around a tank on the obverse, and elaborate floral design on the reverse. He first attributed these coins to Kadambas and then suggested that they might have been issued by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. There is hardly any reason to support this attribution.

7. THE GAṆGAS

Coins with an elephant on the obverse and floral design on the reverse were most probably issued by the Gaṅga rulers during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Since these coins have one and the same type, they may be presumed to have been issued by one dynasty; and as they are found in Kārnāṭaka state, that dynasty may be presumed to be the Western Gaṅgas. Some of these coins have solitary Kannada letters, whose palaeography shows that they were issued in the tenth or eleventh century, and not in the fifth or sixth, as was supposed earlier. It has been suggested that the coins with the letter ha may have been issued by IIastimalla or Prithvīpati II. with the letter ka by Krishnavarman or Kaṅgavarman, and with the word Bhuja by Bhujabala. These are, however, merely plausible conjectures. It must also be added that the photographs of the coins, which are said to have these letters above the ‘elephant’, are very indistinct. This coin type

77 MAR, 1933, p. 99.
78 MAR, 1939, p. 87, and 1940, p. 75.
79 MAR, 1939, pp. 98-99.
80 Ibid., pl. XXVII, nos. 6, 10 and 11. See also B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., p. 48.
might have been borrowed by king Harsha of Kashmir in the eleventh century.

8. THE PĀṇḍyas

A gold coin, bearing two fish shown vertically on one side and the legend śri-Varagunah in Grantha characters on the other, has been assigned to the Pāṇḍya ruler Varagun II (3rd century A.D. 862-880). A number of copper coins of the Bull and Fish type have been attributed to the Pāṇḍyas. Some rare gold pieces, having two fish on the obverse, can probably be ascribed to the Pāṇḍyas, and may have been issued during the ninth or tenth century A.D. The larger of these gold coins which are 0.6" in diameter and about 57 grains in weight, have on the obverse, besides the two fish in centre, a lamp in their front and a chaṇḍi and the Sun and the Moon behind. There is a legend on the reverse, which has not been so far deciphered. Smaller gold coins weigh only about 6.5 grains and are uninscribed. Their symbols are fewer, but the fish is always present.

9. THE CHERAS

Villavan (or Bowman) is the Tamil designation of the Chera kings, and the lāṁchhana of their dynasty was a strung bow. It is, therefore, very likely that uninscribed coins, having inter alia a strung bow on one side, may have been issued by Chera rulers.

10. THE CHOLAS

The Cholas began to rise into prominence with the accession of Parāntaka, who ruled from c. A.D. 907 to 953. Though he had a long reign, he left no inscribed coinage. His son Gaṇḍaṛāditya also did not issue any coins. But the latter’s brother Ariṇjaya struck silver coins bearing a lion on the obverse and the legend Ari-jaya on the reverse. Gaṇḍaṛāditya’s son Madhurāntaka Uttama Chola (c. A.D. 973-985) issued gold coins, known as gold mūdai, bearing the legend Uttama-śolan in Grantha characters. The tiger, the dynastic emblem of the Cholas, naturally appears on these coins. But they also show the fish, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas, in front of the tiger, probably as a memento of the conquest of the Pāṇḍya capital Madurai, on account of which event, Uttama Chola had assumed the title Madhurāntaka.

80a JNSI, Vol. XXXII, p. 85.
80b B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., pp. 64-65.
81 Elliot, CSI, pp. 119-130.
82 MAR, 1939, p. 87, and 1940, p. 75; Elliot, CSI, pl. III, nos. 121-128; Vidya Prakash, op. cit. pp. 100-101.
83 JNSI, Vol. XXXI, pl. II, no. 1; B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., p. 249.
84 Desikachari, Coins of South India, pp. 64-86; B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., p. 240.
Some gold coins indeed carry the legend Maitrāntakaḥ (= Madhurāntakaḥ). Madhurāntakaḥ-mādaī coins are referred to in Chola records.

A few silver and copper coins of Uttama-Chola are also known, having the Nāgarī legend Uttama-Cholah in two lines on the reverse. Rājarāja, the successor of Uttama-Chola, is known from this abundant inscribed coinage; but it falls outside the period of the volume.

11. THE KADAMBAS

Elliot had assigned some padmataṇka coins to the early Kadamba rulers. But it appears more probable that these coins should be attributed to a considerably later period. Attempts have also been made to associate several varieties of inscribed gold coins with the early Kadambas. But all these attributions are doubtful. Later Kadamba rulers issued inscribed coins; but they fall outside our period.

IX. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The post-Gupta coinages indicate the use of a number of weight standards. A large number of coin-denominations and coin-names occur in epigraphs and literature. One of the most important coin denominations in northern India was dramma. The same name might have been used in certain cases to denote coins of different metals. In Kāśmira gold, silver and also copper pieces were probably known as dināra. It is interesting to note that certain coin-names

87 Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 38; Elliot, CSI, pp. 64-67.
90 For coin denominations prevalent in north India, see L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 192 f. For coin-names mentioned in the epigraphs of peninsular India, see C. Yazdani (editor), op. cit., p. 801 f, and B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., p. 163 f.
91 Epigraphs speak of different types of dramma including those known by the names of rulers. For an example we can refer to Vigrahapāla-dramma (L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 192 f).
92 A. Stein, Kalhana’s Rājaharana, Vol. II, p. 308 f; see also Kalhana, Rājāharana, VII, 950 (with reference to the reign of Harshadeva, who ruled some
in epigraphs probably denoted units of value and not actual metallic pieces.  

Though we know of a very large number of coins of the post-Gupta age, all of them might not have been products of government mints. In fact, several important dynasties did not at all strike coins. Again, all members of many ruling families having their own mints did not strike coins (at least) in their names. Coins bearing old types and sometimes also names of dead kings were continued to be minted officially and also by private moneys.  

Cowries were used at least in certain areas as a medium of exchange. Barter-system was also practised. On the other hand, coins of certain rulers (including the Bull and Horseman type coins of Shāhī Sāmantadeva) were used not only for commercial transactions in their respective areas or in contiguous regions of the Indian subcontinent but also for trade with foreign countries.  

It was perhaps not impossible for an area to be familiar simultaneously with new coins, old specie and cowries and also with a barter-system. Thus, a complex system or systems of exchange prevailed in different parts of the Indian subcontinent.

time later than our period). Following the example of Gāngeyadeva, who ruled slightly after our period, gold coins were struck on dramma standard. The name dramma (Greek drachmā) originally denoted a class of silver coins.  

For example, we can refer to the name Kārshāpana occurring in a Gayā inscription of A.D. 1175. There is an indication that here the name Kārshāpana, which generally means a type of coin, stands for a unit of value equal to a number of Kapardakas, or cowrie-shells (D. C. Sircar, Numismatic and Epigraphic Studies, pp. 51-53). Similarly purāṇa and Kapardaka-purāṇa in several Sena records denote a unit of value (equal to that of a purāṇa) counted in cowries (ibid.).  

For examples, we can refer to the Pālas (the rulers of the family of Gopāla I), the Senas (the dynasty of Vijayasena), the Rāṣṭrakūtas.  

L. Gopal, Coin-Types of Northern India, p. 2 f.; See also appendix on Numismatic Art.


Indiā, c. A.D. 700-1200, pp. 213 f.  

Appendix to Chapter Thirty-Five

NUMISMATIC ART

A coin is a piece of metal of prescribed weight, embellished with designs and/or legends and produced under the direction of an authority (private or public) for its use as a medium of exchange. A design or designs, conceived of by an artist or artists, can be transferred to the surface of the metal (i) by punching its one side or two sides with the relevant design (engraved in negative on a die) or designs (apparently typologically unrelated to one another and engraved in negative on equal number of dies), or (ii) by stamping one or both faces of the blank with the help of a die or two dies engraved with the design or designs (in negative), or (iii) by casting a regulated quantity of molten metal in a mould or moulds bearing the design or designs (in negative) or (iv) by following the repoussé technique.

The transformation of the piece of metal called coin into an object of art is facilitated by the artistry of its obverse and reverse devices, excellence of the relevant die or mould(s), purity and/or suitability of the required metal and efficiency in the technique of minting. Highly sophisticated and largely mechanised process of manufacturing followed in a modern organised mint can maintain a uniform standard in production on a mass scale, the like of which could not have been witnessed in a manually operated mint of early or medieval age. Moreover, ill-organised unofficial and sometimes also official mints were often not interested in turning out coins of artistic quality. Thus, a vast number of pieces of coined metal of early and medieval periods do not interest students of the history of fine arts. However, the number of quality products of these ages is not negligible. Many of such coins, produced in well organised mints (under the supervision of appreciating as well as exacting authorities) and from dies prepared by highly skilled and talented artists, can be classed as masterpieces of visual art. These indicate traits of numismatic art and its relationship with other media of plastic art.
Looked at from these points of view, the most important series of Indian coins of the period under review (c. A.D. 300-985) is formed by the pieces minted by the Imperial Guptas.

Gliding linearism and a subtle sense of movement characterise the figures appearing on the coins of the Imperial Guptas, particularly on their gold coins. Well-proportioned human figures, are shown as sitting or standing in various postures. The royal male figures, with sheath of muscles rippling under skin, exude strength, robustness and vitality. The royal or divine female figures have soft graceful slender forms and refined (often sensuous) contours. Divine figures on gold pieces sometimes radiate spiritual sublimity.

All these characteristics are discernible in well executed stone (and also in some stucco and terracotta) sculptures of the Gupta empire and/or age, particularly in those produced following the Sarnath or Mathura idioms. Many of the female figures on the gold coins do reflect the classical idea of feminine beauty.

We may find resemblance between the poses or postures of figures appearing on coins and in sculptures. For an example, we may compare the standing posture of Gaṅgā on “Tiger-slayer” type coins of Samudra-gupta with that of the divine figure in a sculpture from Besnagar (c. A.D. 500). There is a striking correspondance between the scheme of representation of Gaṅgā, on “Rhinoceros-slayer” type coins of Kumāra-gupta I (which show her as standing in a dvibhaniga pose with an attendant holding a parasol over her head) and that of the same deity on a door jamb found at Buxar (Bihar).

The figures of animal on well produced coins have life-like appearance with facile contours defining their volume. They often exhibit their characteristic qualities. The king of beasts appears

1 CGD, pl. II, especially, pl. Vf.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., pl. VI, no. 15; IX, no. 10; pl. X, no. 9; pl. XIV, no. 2; pl. XIX, no. 13, etc.
4 Ibid., pl. VIII, no. 10; pl. IX, no. 14; pl. XIII, no. 8, etc.
5 Ibid., pl. VI, no. 11; pl. XV, no. 15.
7 Ibid., pp. 124f.
8 CGD, pl. II, no. 14; A. K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pl. XLVII, no. 177.
9 A. S. Altekar, Coinage of the Gupta Empire, pl. XIII, no. 5. There is notable similarity between the appearances of Garuda on the copper coins of Chandra-gupta II and on royal seals of the Guptas (CGD, pl. XI, nos. 1-4; Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, revised by D. R. Bhandarkar, pl. XLV). However, Garuḍa on silver and lead coins is somewhat stylised (CGD), pl. X, no. 15; Numismatic Digest, 1981, Vol. V, pp. 24-26).
majestically as the mount of a goddess on numerous pieces. The same animal exhibits its power to struggle on “Lion-slayer” type coins. Standing or prancing horses on several coins are, with their well-built muscular bodies, pictures of robust vitality. The elephant and rhinoceros on a number of pieces exude strength. The tiger on “Tiger-slayer” type coins appears to be ferocious. On the other hand, the peacock on the “Kārtikeya” type coins has a charming appearance. It appears with Kārtikeya also in Gupta sculpture.

Figures on early Gupta gold pieces are in fairly high relief, apparently as a result of the use of well-intagliated dies. However, sometimes they lack physiognomical details, due to defect in sculpting the relevant dies or in striking the coins or owing to “a deliberate taste for the unfinished” (as betrayed by several figures on Kushāṇa coins).  

Differences between physiognomical details of the early kings represented on gold coins suggest that they bear royal portraits. However, on silver coins we perhaps witness only conventional busts.  

Typologically as well as metrologically Gupta gold pieces betray impact of coinages of the Imperial Kushāṇas and their immediate successors in the North-Western section of the Indian subcontinent. For examples, we can refer to such devices as “the king sacrificing at an altar”, “elephant rider”, “goddess on lion”, “goddess on throne” (Ardokhsho), “three standing figures”, etc. In the obverse device of the “Chakravikrama” type of Chandra-gupta II, showing the king receiving certain objects and so some kind of favour from a deity (Chakrapurusha), one may discern influence of an idea reflected in a coin-type of Hvishika, portraying him as kneeling before Nanā and also in a seal displaying a royal Yūeh-chih personage receiving a diadem fillet from Manao Bago.

The inspiration for displaying royal bust on silver coins of the Guptas must have been received from the Kshtrapa coinage of

10 CGD, pl. III, no. 10; pl. XII, no. 6, etc., B. N. Mukherjee, Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers, p. 18 and pl. XIX, nos. 1, 7, etc.

11 CGD, pl. X, nos. 1f; pl. XVI, no. 1f; pl. XXI, nos. 1f.

12 Ibid., pl. XI, nos. 1f.

13 A. S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 15 f; B. N. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 16 f, pl. V, 1 f; pl. VI, nos. 1 f; pl. VII, nos. 1 f; pl. XXIII, nos. 14 and 17, etc.

14 A. S. Altekar, op. cit., pl. IX, no. 9; B. N. Mukherjee, Nanā on Lion — A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art, pl. IX, nos. 32 and 36. Chakrapurusha, shown as a male deity with a wheel behind him, appears as an independent figure on the capital of the Erah stone pillar carrying an inscription of the time of Budha-gupta (G. Harle, Gupta Sculpture, fig. 23).
Western India. The “Altar” type on the Gupta silver and copper coins may betray the die-cutters’ knowledge of the early Sasanian pieces carrying the same type.

The Gupta artists gradually Indianised or replaced foreign devices, attributes and, to some extent, dresses and ornaments. The enthroned goddess of fortune (Ardhoksho) of non-Indian origin was gradually replaced by the Indian goddess of prosperity, Lakshmī or Śrī, seated on lotus. The Goddess on Lion began to appear (as Durgā Simhavāhinī) in various postures.

In choosing the devices for the bewildering varieties of coins the mint-masters appear to have been often motivated by the desire to project the valour and skill of the kings, and to commemorate important events. For examples, we can refer to “Chandragupta-Kumāra-devi” type of Chandra-gupta I, “Battle-axe” type of Samudra-gupta and Kumāra-gupta I, “Tiger-slayer” type of Samudra-gupta and Kumara-gupta I, “Lion-slayer” type of Chandragupta II and Kumāra-gupta I, “Elephant-river-Lion-slayer” type of Kumāra-gupta I, “Rhinoceros-slayer” type of Kumāra-gupta I, “Aśvamedha” type of Samudra-gupta and Kumāra-gupta I, etc.

The royal achievements depicted in these devices are referred to in the accompanying legends. In fact, legends on Gupta coins show inclination to allude to the supernatural strength, character and performances of the kings and to their authority over earth (and even heaven). A few of these inscriptions connect or compare them with gods and even deify the monarchs. The obverse legend in the “Couch” type coins of Chandra-gupta II refers to him as deva. The legend Chakravikramah on the reverse of the coins of the “Chakravikrama” type of Chandra-gupta II (showing him as receiving certain objects from Chakrapurusha) may mean that the king’s valour was like that of Chakrapurusha or that his valour was received from the latter. In the obverse and also reverse legends on the “Kārtikeya” type coins, displaying Kumāra-gupta I feeding a peacock on one side and Kārtikeya (also called Kumāra) riding a peacock on the other, refer to the sovereign as Mahendrakumāra. In the inscription on a variety of “Lion-slayer” type coins the same king is imagined as Narasimha (or Nṛsimha), an incarnation of Vishṇu.

16a Ibid., pl. VI, nos. 1 f; pl. XII, nos. 1f.
16a Kārtikeya is shown as offering some objects by his right hand in varada pose (UGD, pl. XV, no. 14). Does this feature indicate that the god is shown as bestowing some boon or favour on Kumāra (gupta Mahendrāditya)? (In this connection see also J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd edition, p. 144: JNSI, 1977, vol. XXXIX, p. 124 f.).
16b See JINSI, 1979, Vol. XLII, p. 51 f, for a hypothesis that the “Horsemans” type coins of Chandragupta II, displaying his figure on a prancing horse, indicates his identification with the horse rider Kalki, another incarnation of Vishṇu.
may wonder whether Kumāra-gupta I's "Apratigha" type coins, showing him in the garb of a (Buddhist) monk and referring to him as apratigha (invincible) (which can be an appropriate epithet for the Buddha himself), compare or identify the king with the great Master.

In their attempts to stress the divine character of the Gupta kingship the mint-masters concerned were really reflecting an idea well-known to literature (Manu-smriti, VII, 8; Mahābhārata, Sāntiparvan, 59, 128-35; 68, 40f; etc.) and epigraphs. The famous praśasti, composed by Harishenā describes Samudra-gupta as "God dwelling on earth" (lokadhāmadevaḥ).

These considerations indicate that the Imperial Guptas, like the Imperial Kushānas, used coins as a medium of propaganda. The mint-masters did not remain content with displacing the portrait of the kings only. Some of the types display also the queens.17

The deities (like Nanā or Durgā on lion, Chakrapurusha, goddess of prosperity or good fortune, Kārtikēva, Gaigā and others), who appear on Gupta coins, are also represented in sculptures of the Gupta age. It is interesting to note that though the Guptas allowed different faiths to flourish in their empire, they were selective in choosing the deities to be represented on their coins. It is perhaps not without significance that the river Gaigā (and not the Yamunā or any other river) is deified on their coins. Perhaps the representation of this river, easily the most important one in the Gupta empire, indicated the Gupta territory itself as situated inter alia along the Ganges. Similarly the goddess of prosperity or Śrī appeaimg on the Gupta coins might have been looked upon also as the goddess of the prosperity of the kingdom (Rāivaṣī or Rāivalakṣmī). Such a hypothesis finds support in the statement of the Irmāgadh inscription of Skanda-gupta that he became the emperor as he was chosen (as husband) by Lākṣmī herself after discarding all other princesses (vapetum sarvān = manuindrappruṇā = lākṣmī svayam unām varauām-chakārā). This epigraphic claim is beautifully corroborated by the appearance of Rāivalakṣmī holding (like seated Lākṣmī) a lotus and a noose(?), by the side of Skanda-gupta on a variety of his coins.18

Syncretism, a feature of Indian iconography, was not altogether unknown to the die-cutters employed by the Guptas. In the appearance of a female deity standing on makara and feeding a peacock on

17 A. S. Altekar, op. cit., pl. I, no. 11; pl. IX, no.6; pl. XIV, no. 41, etc. The seated figures on a class of coins of Chanda-gupta II, generally considered to represent the king and the (chief) queen, have been sought to be identified as Nārāyana and Lākṣmī by P. L. Gupta and S. Srivastava (Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kālā Bhāvan, pp. 19 and 48-47; pl. IV, nos. 60-61).

18 Ibd., pl. XIV, nos. 12-14.
the reverse of the “Tiger-slayer” type coins of Kumāra-gupta I we may discern a fusion of the concept of Gaṅgā with that of the consort of Kārtikeya, whose mount is peacock. Or does this coin-type represent Gaṅgā, the goddess of the most important and beneficial river of the empire, as nourishing the mount of Kumāra, meaning the emperor as well as the god Kārtikeya?

Not only peacock or makara, but also mounts of other deities appear on Gupta coins. Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu, can be seen on several varieties of Gupta specie as well as seals. Bull, the mount of Śiva, is noticeable on a class of silver coins of Skanda-gupta. Trident on a variety of Kumāra-gupta I’s silver pieces may also allude to Śaivism.

Of the different symbols on the Gupta coins we can refer especially to lunar symbol or crescent. It appears sometimes on a standard which can be called Chandraṛdhvaṇa (like Chakradhvaja and Garuḍadhvaja). One may imagine that here the representation of chandra (moon) may have an allusion to Chandra-gupta I, the real founder of the Gupta empire, or to the royal family of which Chandra-gupta I was the first emperor.

The varieties of the Gupta coins decreased from the reign of Skanda-gupta. Gold coinage of his successors is known from their coins showing the king as an archer on one side and a seated goddess on the other. Both the devices, particularly the latter, influenced coin-types of later periods. Similarly, devices on silver coins of the Guptas (at least one variety of which was struck by Buddhagupta even sometime after Skanda-gupta) made impact on post-Gupta coinages.

The coinage of the Imperial Guptas, particularly of the earlier ones, forms an independent medium of art. Several stylistic features betrayed by well executed figures on coins correspond to those of the Gupta sculpture. Nevertheless, the Gupta die-cutters had their own technique for hewing out in negative the relevant figures on the die in such a way as to impart a sense of three dimensions to them in their positive impressions on the flat flans of the coins. Some of the deities on these coins are also interesting iconographically. The coin-types illustrating the valour, skill and achievements of the kings are accompanied by well-composed legends, mostly metrical, alluding to their identical qualifications. Here we have a novel blending of literary compositions with visual art. Epigraphic references to royal skill and achievements sometimes find corroboration from coin-types. For example, we can refer to the “Lyrist” type of Samudra-gupta, which displays him as playing a lyre or lute and thereby translates into visual art the subject matter of a part of an epigraph (or a piece of epigraphic literature, viz. Allahabad prāsasti of Harîsheṇa), referring to the musical accomplishments of the king.
It appears that the coins of the Gupta empire formed an important medium of art having intimate relationship with other branches of creative activities. The variety in type continued to increase up to the reign of Kumāra-gupta I. The stylistic excellence of Gupta art was reflected in coinage at least up to the reign of period of Skanda-gupta, or perhaps up to the time of Buddha-gupta and Vainya-gupta. Then due to use of debased metal in gold coinage and perhaps also due to employment of die-cutters of comparatively inferior skill, the standard of numismatic art slightly declined.

Like the coinage of the Imperial Guptas, some classes of tribal coins, datable to the third-fourth century A.D., may betray Kushāna influence. Several large copper coins, carrying on one side a male figure (Śiva) and on the other a number of devices (including the figure of a deer) mostly resembling those on other known varieties of the coinage of the Kunindaś, are attributed to them. The module of these pieces, palaeographically datable to the second or third century A.D., might have been suggested by Kushāna copper ones. The obverse type, showing Śiva holding a trident with an axe (or a shaft) in his right hand and a deer-skin by the left hand is certainly comparable with the representation of the same deity on a large number of Kushāna coins. Kushāna impact is discernible also in a series of copper coins of the Yaudheya tribe, datable to the third-fourth century A.D. The posture of the standing deity on the reverse of these coins, with one hand on the hip and the other held out, reminds us of that of Mao on several Kushāna copper coins. The appearance of Kārtikeya on the reverse with his left hand on his hip and his right hand holding a spear having a peacock on his left, has a general resemblance to that of Mahāsena on Kushāna coins. where however he is shown as carrying a staff mounted by a bird.

The figures on these tribal coins betray the artists' ability to infuse in them a sense of volume. The male figures exude robust vitality, while the female figure on the Yaudheya pieces is rendered with "a charm and beauty" and posture "foreshadowing the daintier female figures of the Gupta art". Nevertheless, the artistic quality of the pieces concerned cannot stand comparison with that of the best products of the Gupta mints.

18c See above n. 18b.
18d ibid.
18f For a detailed study of art in tribal coinage, see K. K. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 247.
The lingering of the Gupta idiom is discernible in some Post-Gupta coinages. Lakshmi seated on a lotus on the reverse of a class of gold coins of Samâchâradeva of Vaṅga (?) (sixth century A.D.) reminds us of the appearance of this deity on the Gupta coins. The same may be said of the obverse type carrying the representation of the king as an archer—a type coined by the Imperial Guptas till the end of their rule. Here, however, the die-cutters employed by Samâchâradeva show some originality by replacing the Garuda standard on the obverse by a bull standard.\textsuperscript{19} The creative power of the relevant artists is more manifest in another class of Samâchâradeva's specie in gold. The obverse displays the well formed figure of the king seated on a couch and being attended by two females. All of these apparently static figures betray a sense of lithy movement. This feature is also discernible in the figure of a female on the reverse. She stands to front in a dvibhaṅga pose with her head turned to her right. Her left hand rests on her hip, while the half-raised right one holds the stalk of a lotus. The facing of different limbs of the body in different directions impart to the figure a sense of movement. The figure itself has a soft and sensuous modelling of the body. The appearance of a goose (haṅsa) by the side of the figure may identify her as Sarasvati.\textsuperscript{20}

The dancing bull carrying a seated figure of Śiva on one side of coins of Saśāṅka of Gauḍa (late sixth century and/or the first half of the seventh century A.D.) has a graceful as well as strong figure. The volume of the body is indicated by its flowing contour.\textsuperscript{21} In comparison to this the treatment of the figure of seated Lakshmi (with two elephants consecrating her) on the other side of these coins is somewhat angular.\textsuperscript{22}

The gliding linearism and soft modelling of the body, two characteristics of Gupta idiom, is absent from the figures on a class of debased gold coins displaying an archer and a four- or six- or eight-handed goddess. These coins are datable to the seventh-eighth

\textsuperscript{19} CGD, pl. XXIV, no. 4.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., pl. XXIV, no. 5.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., pl. XXIII, nos 15-16. If the circular object appearing by the side of Śiva and in the upper left field of the obverse of Saśāṅka's coins stands for full moon, here we may have an allusion to his name which literally means "moon". However, Śiva himself is also known as Saśāṅka-śekhara ("moon-crested"). Both the deity and the king may have been imaginatively alluded to by the object in question.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., pl. XXIII, nos. 15-16; pl. XXIV, nos. 1-2. Some coins of Saśāṅka, carrying the devices of his gold coins, are so debased and contain so much of silver that they appear as silver pieces (for two such pieces see JRAS, 1979, pp. 152-153).
century A.D. and (at least partly) attributable to Samataṣa (including Comilla and Noakhali districts of Bangladesh).\textsuperscript{23}

The figure of a couchant bull is gracely treated on at least some pieces of the first series of coins of Harikela (c. 7th century A.D.) and Paṭṭikedā (c. 8th century A.D.).\textsuperscript{24} However, due to defect in die-cutting and minting, the same animal often looks grotesque on a great number of pieces of the second series of Harikela coinage and some associated series (9th—12th or 13th centuries A.D.).\textsuperscript{25}

D

Like the “Archer” type gold coins of the Guptas, the “Peacock” type silver pieces made an impact on several series of Post-Gupta coinages\textsuperscript{26} including those of the Hūnas and the Maukharis and the family of Pushpabhūti. But the appearance of the fan-tailed peacock is perhaps not always as lively on coins of these series as on a large number of the relevant Gupta coins.\textsuperscript{27} Several of these coins, indicating the issuer’s name or title as Silāditya, have been attributed to Harshavardhana of the family of Pushpabhūti. To him is also attributed a gold coin bearing the name of Harshadeva and displaying Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a bull (nandin).\textsuperscript{28} Here the composition (showing Pārvatī as sitting on the left of Śiva) has some resemblance to that of several representations of Śiva and Pārvatī in sculptural art. But the style of execution is rather crude and the treatment of the figures is flat and angular.

The Imperial Gupta coinage felt the impact of the Kushāṇa coin devices like “the king sacrificing at an altar” and “an enthroned goddess (Ardokṣho)”. These types also indirectly influenced the coinage of another part of the subcontinent, viz. Kāśmīra. These types of the gold, silver billon and copper coins of Kāśmīra, display-


\textsuperscript{25} Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. X, 1976-77, p. 166 f. P. L. Gupta has stated that “to the eighth century may be assigned a gold coin”, struck following the Gupta idiom. On the obverse “Avalokitesvara, a Buddhist deity, is shown seated and before him is sitting a crowned figure with folded hands. The reverse bears an elephant-standard with a flying pennon. The name Śrī-Vindhya-śakti is inscribed on it. But no king of this name is known so far in the eastern region (P. L. Gupta, Coins, p. 68).

\textsuperscript{26} The “bust : trident” and “bust : humped bull” silver coins of the Guptas also influenced some Post-Gupta coinages.

\textsuperscript{27} CGD, pl. XVIII, no. 1; E. J. Rapson, Indian Coins, pl. IV, nos. 13-14.

\textsuperscript{28} K. D. Bajpai, Indian Numismatic Studies, p. 155; pl. VII, no. 8.
ing "the king at altar" and "a seated goddess" can indeed be traced through the specie of the group of Kidāra (or Kidarites) bearing similar devices to the coins of the Imperial Kusānas (and their successors in the land of five rivers), showing a royal figure at altar on one side and the enthroned Ardokhsho on the other. Extremely crude and degenerate copies of these devices in very high relief appear on the specie of the Kārkota dynasty (c. A.D. 627-855/36). Somewhat better executed figure of a seated goddess can be noticed in a coin-type of Srīpratāpa (= Pratāpaditya I or Durlabhaka Pratāpaditya II ?). Here the enthroned female has a sensuous and facile contour. She holds the stalk of a lotus and has her feet on a

29 NC, 1893, p. 202. Coinage of Kidāra Kusāna himself consists of three main classes. Class I includes gold coins displaying the king at altar on the obverse and Oesho with bull on the reverse. Typologically the coins are related to the Kusānao-Sasanian pieces of Kushanshahr (including Bālkh), which had been ultimately based on a class of coinage of the Imperial Kusāna monarch Vāsudeva II. (R. Chirshman, Les Chionites-Iephtalites, p. 72, pl. VI, nos. 5-6; R. Curiel and D. Schumberger, Trésors monétaires d’Afghanistan, pp. 119-120; pl. XIII, no. 2). Class II consists of silver pieces displaying a royal bust on the obverse and an altar flanked by two attendants on the reverse. These devices are based on well-known Sasanian types (Numismatic Supplement, no. XLVII, p. 39; pl. 1, 1f). To class III we may attribute debased gold pieces showing a royal figure at altar and an enthroned goddess. These devices may be traced to the coinage of the Imperial Kusānas. These were adopted by the successors of the Imperial Kusānas in the land of five rivers (NC, 1893, pl. VIII, nos. 11; pl. IX, nos. 2f). The royal headdress on the coins of first two classes seem to be copies of the crown of the Sasanian ruler Shāhpiur II (A.D. 309-379) or Shāhpiur III (A.D. 383-388) (R. Göbl, Sasanian Numismatics, pl. VI, nos. 88 f; pl. VIII, nos. 125f). So Kidāra Kusāna cannot be placed before the 4th century A.D. His coin types indicate his success in northwestern section of the Indian subcontinent and also in that part of old Kushanshahr which may be considered to have been then in Sasanian empire and now in Afghanistan. The Pei-shih (ch. 97) speaks of success of Chi-to-lo (=Kidāra) in North T’ien-chu (India) and alludes to his group’s conquest of Po-lo (=Bālkh?).

Members of Kidāra’s group used his coin-types of class II and class III. Coins of Class III or their imitations formed the proto-type of a long series of Kāśmīra coinage.

It may be added here that though Kidāra is referred to as a Kusāna in his coin-legends and Chi-to-lo (= Kidāra) is called Yūeh-chih in the Pei-shih (ch. 97) (and also in the Wei-shu, ch. 102), it is not certain whether he was a genuine Kusāna or Yūeh-chih ruler. As a king of the territory known as Kushanshahr (or the territory of the Great Yūeh-chih, which tribe included the Kusānas), he could have been known as a Kusāna and also as an Yūeh-chih monarch. If the name Kidāra is connected with the Oumnoi oi Kidaritai, referred to by Priscus, it will indeed be difficult to accept the members of the group of Kidāra as genuine Kusānas (and not as Hūnas). So it is better, in the present state of our knowledge, to call them only as Kidarites (B. N. Mukherjee, The Kusāna Genealogy, p. 92, n. 1).

30. B. N. Mukherjee, Kusāna Coins of the Land of Five Rivers, pls. VI-VII.
31 L. Copal, Early Mediaeval Coin-Types of Northern India, pl. I, no. 9f; pl. II, nos. 2-7.
lotus. These features may betray influence of the Gupta coinage.\textsuperscript{32} Such influence is discernible also in another coin device of early Kāśmīra (viz. goddess on lion).

On the coins of the Upalas (up to A.D. 939) and the dynasties of Yaśaskara and Parvagupta (A.D. 939-1003) much improved versions of the devices are shown in somewhat normal relief.\textsuperscript{33} Sometimes, however, stress is given only on the outlines of the draped figures and comparatively low areas are left untraced. Moreover, the figures on both sides wear new types of loose upper and lower garments. The goddess wears big ear-rings and often a top hat, though the nimbus behind her head continues to appear (sometimes in a modified form, looking almost like a trefoil arch). The garments and ornaments probably betray local influence.

The artistic merit of the coins of the Hūnas in the Indian sub-continent is not considered to be of high order. Their coin-devices are known to have been based mostly on types earlier used by other ruling families.\textsuperscript{34} Nevertheless, we have remarkable representations of the Hūṇa rulers on their “bust : altar” coins, which were typologically based on Sasanian coinage. These representations on coins of the rulers like Lakhāna, Khingila, Jāraṇa, Triloka and Pūrvvāditya are not copies of Sasanian busts, but actual portraits of the rulers concerned betraying personal features.\textsuperscript{35} The same may be said of the busts on the coins of Toramāna (bust: solar symbol) and Mihirakula (bust: humped bull).\textsuperscript{36} The auspicious symbols and devices and cognizances in front of the bust on Hūna coins and the appearance of a standing deity in front of the royal bust on a variety of Pūrvvāditya’s “bust: fire altar” coins\textsuperscript{37} add a novel iconic feature to coinage concerned.

Another interesting icon appears on the reverse of a class of silver coins of the family of Shāḥi Tigin, Vakhu (or Vasu) deva and Vāhi Tigin. The device concerned consists of a fairly well-drawn bust of a male with flame issuing out of his head.\textsuperscript{38} A. Cunningham identified the icon as that of the Sun god of Multan, referred to by Arab

\textsuperscript{32} A Cunningham, Coinage of Mediaeval India, pl. III, no. 9.
\textsuperscript{33} L. Gopal, op. cit., pl. II, nos. 8f; pl. III, nos. 1f;
\textsuperscript{34} A. Biswas, Political History of the Hūnas in India, p. 180f.
\textsuperscript{35} R. Göbl, Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien, Vol. III, pl. XV, nos. 39, 40, 41, etc; pl. XVI, no. 44; pl. XXV, nos. 79 and 89; NC, 1894, pl. XI, no. 1f.
\textsuperscript{36} NC, 1894, pl. IX, no. 16; pl. X, no. 1.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., nos. 3f; R. Göbl, op. cit., pl. XXVII, nos. 89f; The same deity may not appear on all coins.
\textsuperscript{38} NC, 1894, pp. 290-292; pl. XII, nos. 9-11; R, Göbl, op. cit., pl. XLVI. no. 206; pl. XLVII, nos. 208f; pl. LI, no. 213.
historians and geographers. On the other hand, R. B. Whitehead took the icon as representing the Iranian fire deity.

Imitations of "bust: fire altar with attendants" coins of the Sasanian family (most probably of Peroz, A.D. 457/59-484) developed into a regular Indo-Sasanian series from about A.D. 500. The series became current on different dates in different areas including parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Western Deccan, Malwa, U.P. and Bihar. The artistic merit of the relevant coins which may have been imitated by private moneymen as well as official mint-masters, is generally poor. It is, however, interesting to note that members of the ruling dynasties of these regions occasionally made use of the obverse device and/or reverse device to strike in their names.

The influence of the reverse device is noticeable on one side of a series of coins (struck mainly in base silver, but also in billon and copper), which also bears a stylised or corrupt version of the fire altar and two attendants and the legend Śrīmadādīvarāha. The legend is taken to refer to the Imperial Prativrāharā king Bhoja (c. A.D. 836-885 or 890). Though a large number of pieces belonging to this class of specie may be considered as imitations, at least some of the most well produced silver coins should be accepted as products of the mint of Bhoja. One side of such pieces (other than the side mentioned above) appears a boar with such attributes which distinguish the figure as the boar incarnation of Vishnu. The Varāha, wearing vanamālā, stands astride to right, i.e. to proper left. His right hand is on the right hip and the left hand is half-raised, with the elbow turned upward and palm resting on the half-raised left thigh or knee. The left foot rests on a lotus. A wheel, a mace and a few indeterminate objects can be noticed on these pieces. Two circular objects, one in front of the snout and the other near the left hand, may stand for dhāritri (the earth), known to have been held by the snout or by the left arm (and hand) or partly by the snout and partly by the left arm (and hand) in the sculptural representation of the Varāha. In fact, the scheme of representation of the Varāha closely corresponds to that of the same incarnation in plastic art of the Gupta age as well as of the early medieval period. The strength and vigour exuded by the figure of the Varāha on the coins concerned betray the die-engravers' knowledge of the dynamic re-

39 NC, 1894, p. 268.
40 India Antiqua, Leyden, 1947, pp. 326-329. This deity is noticeable also on some coins of the Sasanian ruler Khosro II (591-628) (R. Gøbl, Sasanian Numismatics, pl. XIV, no. 218). It has been suggested that the deity is a "city goddes", personifying the glory of Khosaran (P. L. Gupta, Coins, p. 66).
41 Numismatic Supplement, 1904, pp. 368ff; L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 2 f.
42 L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 4 f.
43 Ibid., pl. VII, no. 10.
presentation of the same incarnation in the sculptural art of the early medieval age, examples of which have been found at various sites (including Phaphamau in the Allahabad district). Like the sculptors, the die-cutters boldly and effectively translated into a form of plastic art the well-known legend about the rescue of the earth by the Varāha.

A very interesting gold coin44 in the State Museum, Lucknow, shows on the obverse the Varāha in the same manner as described above, but also with some additional details. For an example, the deity is shown here as being worshipped by Ādiśesha. Moreover, he is four-handed with his upper right clasping a disc, the lower left hand resting on the hip and the lower (or upper) left arm and hand holding a female figure identifiable as dharīrī (the earth). On the reverse a calf is sucking the udder of a cow and being licked by the latter. Above the cow is the legend (Sri) (A•)đī Varāha.45

The robust vitality exuded by the object on the obverse is beautifully harmonised with the tenderness oozing out of the reverse device. The Varāha on the gold and well produced silver coins and the animals on the gold coins are well-formed. They indicate the artists’ ability to impart to the figures on flat flans a sense of volume and litty movement. These coins are indeed among the best objects of numismatic art of early medieval age and are testimonies to the relationship between numismatic and sculptural art of the period concerned.46

The Brahmical Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Panjāb minted certain series of coins bearing interesting devices. For examples, we can refer to (i) “fan-tailed peacock” and “lion”, (ii) “elephant” and “lion” and (iii) “lion” and “goose” (?) (haînsa) appearing on copper pieces and (iv) “humped bull” and “horseman” on coins struck in silver, copper and billon.47 All these devices may be typologically related to earlier coin-types. But presentations of a few of them on the Shāhi coins are noteworthy. The lion on the reverse of “ele-

44 B.N. Mukherjee, Art in Coinage—A Plea for Study of Numismatic Art of India, pl. VII, no. 61 (to be published shortly).

45 It is interesting to note that the reverse type and perhaps also the obverse device were copied by a king called Vatsadāman, one of whose gold coins was noticed long ago by E. J. Rapson (JRAS, 1900, p. 32 and pl. I, no. 19).

46 On some coins of Ādi Varāha or rather on some of their imitations and on several pieces bearing the name of Vināyakapāla the face of the boar appears like that of an ass. This feature might have been among the factors responsible for naming the corrupt imitations of the “bust : altar and attendants” coins, with which the Ādi Varaha series had been connected, as Gadāhiyā or Gadhāhiyā (Gardahhiya) coins [i.e. coins bearing a figure resembling an ass (gardabha)].

47 L. Gopal, op. cit., pl. VIII, nos. VIII, nos. 7f; pl. IX, nos. 1-3; D. B. Pandey. The Shāhis of Afghanistan and Panjāb, p. 177 f.
phant: lion" coins of Vakkadeva, Sāmantadeva and Bhimadeva stands to left with its front leg raised and tongue thrusting out of its mouth. This form of representation of the king of the beasts, can be noticed also architectural sculptures of medieval north Indian and appears to be somewhat conventional or conceptual.

More interesting, from the point of view of numismatic art, are the coins bearing a humped bull and a horseman, first minted by Spalapatideva (in the sixties of the ninth century A.D.). The obverse of the well-executed silver coins of Spalapatideva displays a recumbent bull to left (partly draped with an ornamental cloth and stamped with the mark of a trident on its hind portion) and the legend Spalapatideva. On the reverse appears a male figure, wearing boots, trousers and a long coat and a headgear (betraying Sasanian influence?) and riding on a prancing caprisoned horse. He holds a long spear in his right hand (fitted at the top with a banner?). On some pieces traces of a legend can be noticed in the margin.48

All the figures on good silver pieces of Spalapatideva are very realistically treated. Their dimensional effect is remarkable. The bull appears to be a strong one and the prancing horse seems to be full of life and movement.49

The obverse device can be typologically traced to Indo-Sasanian or Hūna coinage (or even to the Scytho-Parthian and Indo-Greek pieces). Bull is known to have appeared on inter alia early coins of the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent. On the other hand, the types of Spalapatideva were adopted not only by his successors but also by several early medieval dynasties and even by some Muslim conquerors (including Muhammad bin Sam). On several base silver, billon and copper pieces bearing the name of Spalapatideva and on a large number of coins of his successors and other rulers, who adopted the above types, an emphasis on delineating only the outlines of the figures in high relief is noticeable.50 This technique of execution was probably necessitated due to use of poor and alloyed metal and of dies deeply sunk in the relevant places only.

Bhimadeva of the Shāhi family (whose reign ended in c. A.D. 957)

48 D. W. MacDowall has tried to postulate, though rather unconvincingly, a pre-Brahmanical Shāhi origin of the coins bearing the legend referring to Spalapatideva. He further believes that "the legends Sri Spalapati Deva, Sri Vakka Deva, and Sri Sāmantha Deva cannot be names of individual kings, but must be titles repeated continuously for a long range of kings throughout the dynasty" (NC, 1968, pp. 207 and 214). MacDowall's views are being refuted by us in one of our forthcoming publications.

49 L. Gopal, op. cit., pl. VIII, no. 10.

minted gold as well as silver and copper. A gold piece, published by A. Ghosh, bears on the obverse a (male) figure standing near a male figure seated on a throne in a half cross-legged fashion (with the soles of the feet touching or about to touch each other). The standing figure appears to receive something from the right hand of the sitting figure, whose left hand appears to hold a noose. A trident is noticeable in the back ground between the two figures. The presence of noose and trident may identify the seated figure as Siva (and not as the king as is generally supposed by scholars). He seems to bestow something on the standing figure. In that case the latter can well be identified with Bhimadeva (and so need not be considered, like some scholars, as a female attendant). The reverse displays a male figure (probably the king) seated in arddha-parayanākāsana with the left hand resting on the left thigh and the hand half-raised. On the left of the male figure appears a female figure (Lakshmi) seated cross-legged on a lotus and holding the stalk of a lotus in the left hand. 51

Thematically the obverse and reverse devices can be compared with certain earlier types ("Huvishka and Nana", type of Huvishka, "Chakravikrama" type of Chandra-gupta, "King and Lakshmi" type of Skanda-gupta, etc.). The figures on both sides of the coin concerned have sharp and incisive outlines, flattened and elongated texture and betray somewhat petrified treatment of their plastic content. The same characteristics are noticeable in contemporary sculpture of north-western sector of the Indian subcontinent. 52 Such similarities betray stylistic relationship between numismatic and sculptural art.

E

The Deccan and the Far South did not produce during the period concerned any series of coins of high artistic merit comparable with that of the coinage of the Imperial Guptas. Nevertheless, the variety and artistic quality of the Deccanese and South Indian coins are not negligible.

The couchant bull on the coins of the Sālaṅkāyana ruler Chaṇḍavarman (c. A.D. 395-420) has flowing contour indicating its volume. 53

51 NC, 1952, p. 133 f. D. B. Pande, op. cit., pp. 196 and 218; pl. VI, no. 1. The obverse legend of the coin concerned is Śahī-śri-Bhimadeva and the reverse legend is Śrīmad-(gata)-Śāmantadeva.

52 S. K. Saraswati, op. cit., p. 201; R. C. Majumdar (editor), Struggle for Empire, p. 664. For examples we can refer to a pot-stone sculpture showing Siva and Parvati (now in the British Museum) (D. B. Pandey, op. cit., pl. XIII) and a metal image of Vishnu with Lakshmi from Chamba (c. 10th century A.D.) (M. Singh, Himalayan Art, p. 121).

The standing lion on the coins of the Vishṇukūṃḍins exudes strength and vigour, with its upraised tail and the tongue thrusting out of its mouth, though it has a somewhat stylised appearance.54

The silver coins of the Traikūṭakas (bust : chaitya) and silver spieces bearing the name of Krishṇarāja (bust : humped bull), which had Western Deccan within the area of their circulation, betray impact of the Kshatrapa coinage and Gupta coinage respectively.55 But neither the conventional busts nor the reverse objects are stylistically well executed.

The lion on the copper coins attributed to Vishṇuvardhana (c. A.D. 624-642) of the family of the Eastern Chālukyas has perhaps a stylised appearance.56 Of the objects punched on the gold coins of the Chālukyas, the figure of boar has a well formed body.57

Silver and copper coins attributed to the Kalabhras are considered to have been minted for some time between c. A.D. 300 and 600 in inter alia parts of South India.58 It has been claimed that several of these pieces display, among others, animals, marine creatures, god Skanda or Murugan (?), Siva linga, Ganeśa (?), seated figures (sought to be identified as Jain Tīrthāṅkara, and even shrines with domelike superstructure.59 The last noted device may betray the die-engravers’ attempts to reproduce within a minute scale the visual traits of a form of contemporary architecture. However, the style of execution of the devices on the coins concerned is somewhat crude. At least there is nothing in the treatment of the figures to support the claim that “the die-cutters and mint-masters of the Kalabhras turned out some of the finest coins of ancient India which from artistic point of view can stand comparison with the best of the north ern Gupta issues”.60

We can notice a variety of objects on coins attributed to the Pallavas.61 Some of the figures on these coins are fairly well-formed. They betray the artists’ ability to impart a sense of volume to these figures on flat flans.62 A few of the types used by them, like

54 M. Rama Rao, Vishṇukūṃḍin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, pl. Ia, no. 10.
56 B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., p. 204; pl. I, no. 64; M. Rama Rao, Eastern Chālukya Coins in the Andhra Padesh Government Museum, p. 6 f.
57 W. Elliot, Coins of Southern India, p. 152D; pl. III, nos. 79-80; B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., pp. 205-206. The relevant coin-device was used by the Eastern Chālukya kings Saktivarman (c. A.D. 999-1011) and Rājarāja (c. A.D. 1018-1060).
59 Ibid., pp. 148-149 and 151-154; pl. XIII, nos. 1f; pl. XIV, nos. 1-4.
60 Ibid., p. 151.
61 B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., p. 196 f.
62 For examples, see Ibid., pl. I, nos. 28 and 35.
'a vase with sprig rising from its mouth', etc., are well motifs in sculptural art of India.

The figure of lion on the silver coins of the Chola king Ariñjaya have a stylised appearance. More interesting objects are noticeable on gold, silver, base silver and copper coins of Uttama Chola (A.D. 973-985). His silver, base silver and a class of copper coins display a lamp-stand, a stringed bow, a tiger, two fish in vertical position, and another lamp-stand above a broad line and below a parasol, flanked by two flywhisks. The composition of the devices has a general resemblance to that of the same figures (excepting the stringed bow?) on the royal seals of the Cholas. This type of evidence indicate familiarity on the part of the die-engravers of Chola mints with the seal-engraving art of the age and vice versa. There might have been close association and in some cases, identity, between artists engaged in two media of art.

The relationship between different media of art is evident from the products of the early Gupta age (Chandra-gupta I—Skandagupta), which undoubtedly produced the best objects of numismatic art of the period under review. These pieces may be taken as end-products of a series of operations like (a) the decision to issue coins regularly in the name of the reigning king, (b) the formulation of a policy to use coinage as a medium of propaganda for projecting the skill and valour of the emperor, (c) employment of skilled and imaginative sculptors for engraving dies for producing coins to serve as art objects as well as media of exchange, (d) use of fairly pure metal for preparing blanks (for gold, copper and at least the majority of silver pieces), and (e) adoption of at least an adequately efficient process for striking coins in manually controlled mints.

64 B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., pp. 240-242; pl. IV, nos. 189 and 191.
65 Ibid., p. 241; pl. IV, nos. 189 and 191.
66 For an example, we can refer to the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chola (El, vol. III, pl. facing p. 104). We may also note the evidence of the seal of the Karandai plates of Rājendra Chola I, who ruled not long after Uttama Chola.
67 Several silver-plated copper coins have been noticed by scholars (CGD, pp. 232-233). There might have been also gold-plated coins. (For an example, see the Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1970-71, pl. XXVII, no. B). We also know of lead coins of Chandra-gupta II, Kumāra-gupta I and Skanda-gupta I (Numismatic Digest, 1981, Vol. V, pt. I, p. 19 f). The gold and silver plated coins may have been produced (i) at the time of financial crisis (forcing the mint-masters to issue coins of debased metal), or (ii) at the time of financial stability (giving opportunity to the mint-masters for minting coins of less than prescribed intrinsic value for the use of gullible public), or (iii) at counterfeiters' ateliers.
All of these points are not suggested regularly by coins of any single series of the post-Gupta specie. We do not know of coins of all members of all of the ruling families who are credited to have their own coinage. There are reasons to believe that coins were used to be minted by rulers of at least certain dynasties only when there was demand for them in market and then also new pieces were struck often with old familiar types and sometimes even with names of dead rulers (whose coins had already become popular with the people). Private moneyers were also allowed to mint coins. They were understandably not at all keen to maintain the quality of coins and purity of metal. As a result, coins of a ruler might have continued to be imitated in debased metal and technique even long after his own period.

Such circumstances were hardly propitious for producing a regular series of coinage of the standard set by the early Imperial Guptas. Nevertheless, as noted above, coins of good artistic merit, sometimes bearing novel types and new iconic traits, were not altogether unknown. Coins were also occasionally used as a medium of propaganda. Coin devices, which form the basis of numismatic art, might have been sometimes used for naming a series in popular parlance.

68 For an example, we can refer to the Imperial Pratihara family. Though the famous series of Adivaraha drachma was inaugurated by Bhoja, not all members of his family minted coins (at least not in their names). On the other hand, this coin-type continued to be minted (officially and unofficially) even long after the reign of Bhoja. The Kashatryakutas, whose records refer to some coin-denominations, are not known to have minted coins carrying their names (G. Yazdani, editor, The Early History of the Deccan, p. 801). So also the Pala (the members of family of Copula I) and the Senas (i.e. the members of the house of Vijayasena) did not strike coins. Karpakrdakas or cowries (and perhaps sometimes coins imported territories of other rulers) served as media of exchange in thei dominions (see D. C. Sircar, Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies, pp. 49-50). The system of barter was also practised in different parts of the subcontinent (L. Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, c. A.D. 700-1200).

69 “Bull” and “Horseman” devices were used not only by different members of the Shaha family, but also by rulers of other dynasties (L. Gopal, The Coin-Types of Early Medieval Northern India, pp. 70-72, 77, 79, etc.).

70 See above n. 68 and below n. 71.

71 Silver coins bearing the name of the early Kalachuri ruler Krishnaraja were in circulation even more than 150 years after the end of his rule. (V. V. Mirashi, op. cit., p. CLXXXI).

72 For an example, we can refer to the “fish” (of the Pandyas) and “bow” (of the Cheras) on the Chola coins. They are taken to indicate the supremacy of the Cholas over the Pandyas and Chera territories (B. D. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., p. 52).

73 Varahakaya-vishvashakas and Srimaladivaraha-drammas, mentioned in the Sivadoni inscription of the tenth century A.D. (EI, Vol. I, pp. 174-175), certainly refers to the series of coins bearing the image of the Varaha or the boar incarnation.
No doubt, the number of known coins of good artistic quality is insignificant in comparison with the multitude of pieces minted officially or unofficially for serving only as media of exchange. Nevertheless, among the comparatively small number of quality coins we can figure out objects of art, sometimes betraying awareness of contemporary sculptural style and occasionally representing the creative genius of the age.

74 The number of known specimens of coins of the period under review, now preserved in different collections, is very large.

75 Well-executed gold coins of the Kalachuri king Gāngeyadeva, who ruled not long after the end of our period, bear a beautiful figure of a seated goddess. But the artistic value of this coin device declined in the imitations of his cons. Our study of this coin-type is being published elsewhere.